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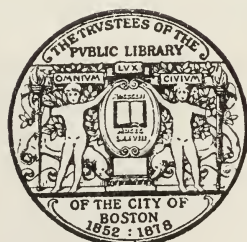
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THE
Boston Public Library
QUARTERLY

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QUARTERLY

VOLUME X

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THE
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QUARTERLY

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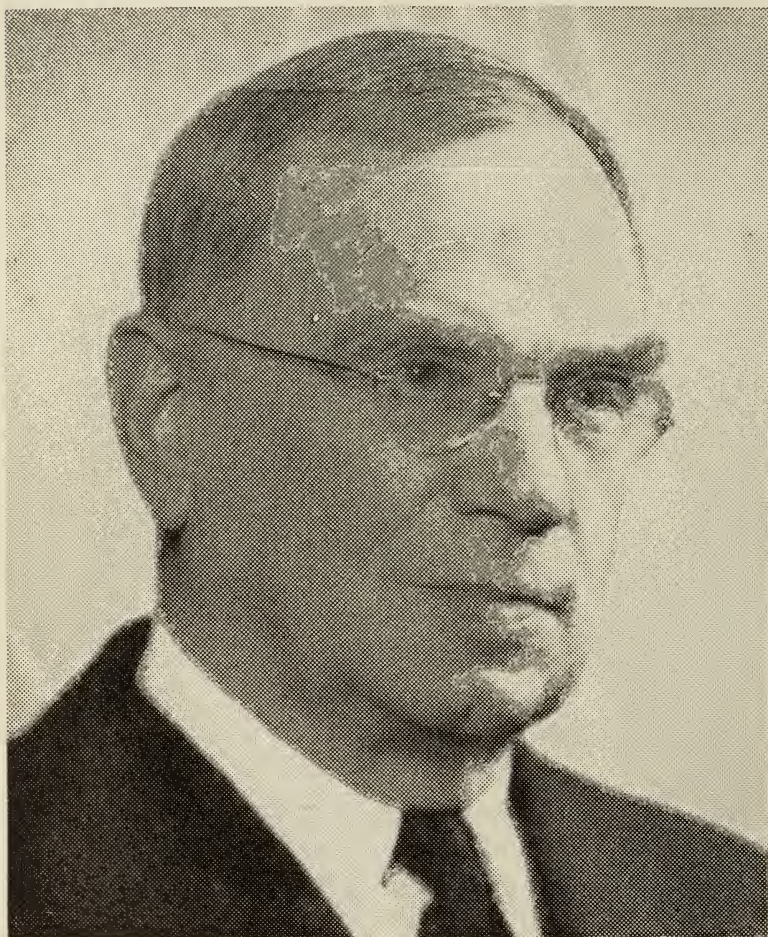
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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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LEE MAX FRIEDMAN

December 29, 1871 - August 7, 1957

THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1958

In Memoriam

At its meeting of November 15, 1957, the Board of Trustees of the Boston Public Library adopted the following resolution in memory of Mr. Lee Max Friedman:

"The late Lee Max Friedman, a Trustee of the Boston Public Library from 1949 to 1957, twice President of the Board, was one of the most generous, discerning, and versatile of its many benefactors. Although he came to the Board late in life, he devoted himself to it with a youthful, buoyant, persistent, and unflagging energy from first to last. Of the many great accomplishments of the Library during his tenure, he could have said with complete truth: 'Quorum pars magna fui.'

"The initiative and the financial acumen of Mr. Friedman were the principal factors in a fundamental and highly beneficial reform in the traditional investment policies and practices of the Library. This fruitful achievement, plus varied donations from him and his family, will make him ultimately one of the Library's most memorable donors.

"Equally notable, and of a wholly different character, was the resolution written by him and adopted by the Board on October 3, 1952, relative to ideals and duties of a great free public library.

"His further benefactions to the Library which became known after his passing illustrate additionally the sweep of

his spirit and his intense interest in every aspect, major and minor, of the Library. He willed it a substantial sum for the building fund. He divided his valuable collection of prints between the Library and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He provided a book fund for the department of rare books. He left also a fund for Judaica, a field in which he had himself collected one of the distinguished private libraries in the country. He made provision for rewards for Library employees performing outstanding services above the routine of their duties.

"Not so well known, but of a nature which makes the Library and hence the municipality his debtor, was his seasoned judgment in helping the Library to resolve many difficulties.

"All in all, it may be said that the name Lee Max Friedman stands high, luminous, and inspiring on the roster of those who have given free-handedly of their intellect and means to the Library with no desire for popular applause but from a sense of obligation to the whole community.

"The Board spreads upon its records this expression of its grief at the passing of a close associate who, as trustee, lawyer, benefactor, scholar, author, administrator, and public servant, had their lasting esteem, admiration, and affection."

*

A memorial meeting was held on December 15 in the Lecture Hall of the Library, attended by Mr. Friedman's many friends and admirers.

The exercises started with the prayers from the Jewish Memorial Services, sung by Mr. William A. Marel, Cantorial Soloist of Temple Israel, Boston, accompanied on the piano by Mr. Herbert Fromm, Music Director of the Temple. Then Mr. Erwin D. Canham, President of the Board of Trustees of the Library, spoke warmly of the services of Mr. Friedman to the institution and read the Board's resolution. Brief addresses followed. Miss Fanny Goldstein, Librarian of the West End Branch Library and Curator of Judaica; Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer, Librarian and Editor, American Jewish Historical Society; Mr. Frank L. Kozol, law partner of Mr. Friedman; Judge Reuben L. Lurie, Justice of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Mr. Peter A. Wick, Assistant Curator of Prints of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and Professor

William A. Jackson, Director of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, all paid tribute to the various aspects of Mr. Friedman's personality, known to them from experience and long association.

It was a memorable occasion, permeated with feelings of genuine respect and affection. Mr. Alan Steinert, a cousin and friend of Mr. Friedman, presided over the meeting.

Early Women Printers of America

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

THE annals of printing in America before the Revolution have preserved the names of eleven women who supported themselves by this profession. Seven colonies and ten towns knew their presence; five did official printing for the government; all but one carried on the constant care of a weekly newspaper. For a short time there may have been four women operating in different parts of the country, a remarkable fact in the days before the emancipation of women. It is well worth making a brief study of these ladies. What did they have in common? What were their backgrounds, and what the trials they had to face? Many important details will probably remain unknown, but much useful material can be located through the journals of the legislatures and the pages of their own newspapers.

The earliest member of the group was Dinah Nuthead, who worked in Maryland about 1696; the latest was Mary Katharine Goddard who, beginning her career before the Revolution, continued on to the middle of the next decade, also in Maryland. Three, at least, were immigrants; one died in England. All but one were married, the mothers of numerous children. Each was in her late thirties when she took up her trade; one may have been little more than forty when she died, while one lived to ninety. The extent of their active careers varies from the twenty-three years of Ann Franklin at Newport, Rhode Island, to the one year and one month of Clementina Rind, at Williamsburg, Virginia. The one uniting factor was the necessity of supporting themselves, and in most cases their children, upon the death of their husbands, good printers all! The only exceptions were Sarah and Mary Katharine Goddard, mother and sister of the printer William Goddard.

Six of the women had sons who also became printers, in most cases completing their apprenticeship under their mother's supervision. As they came of age, the boys would take a more or less important part in the firm, but in several instances the

mother definitely considered herself the head and continued so for some time. All eleven women must have had unusual forcefulness of character. Benjamin Franklin preferred the accounting of Elizabeth Timothy to that of her husband, and he spoke highly of her abilities in his *Autobiography*; Anne Catherine Green of Annapolis seems to have been a bit disdainful of her husband's "lenity and backwardness in collecting his just debts," and one gets the impression that *she* had no intention of standing for such nonsense.

Many of the problems and much of the daily life of these women were shared, of course, by all printers of the time, and for that reason will be discussed briefly here. A standard stock-in-trade of almost all printers in these early days was the blank form. These included all types of legal documents used in the indenture of apprentices, the sale of slaves or real estate, drawing up of wills and letters of administration, ships' bills of lading, and so forth. Though the twentieth-century form executed in quintuplicate was not prevalent, there was a tremendous amount of paper work, and the advent of a printer in the community was a great boon to the local lawyers and officials. This bread-and-butter sort of work bore no imprint and is hard to identify.

In his office the printer usually had for sale not only these blanks and copies of his own publications, but a selection of other books and often a wide variety of miscellaneous merchandise. Although the only true store was that of Cornelia Bradford in Philadelphia, with a complete line of stationery supplies, it was a common occurrence for a printer to receive payment in kind for a newspaper subscription or a bit of job-printing; he in turn would dispose of the goods through his office. Thus Mrs. Zenger in New York offered "very good Canary wine" and Mrs. Crouch at Salem could provide "a few bolts of English Duck." The office served as an accommodation address for many of the newspaper's advertisers who might live some distance away. It was a frequent procedure for a notice to read "wanted, a wet nurse" or "for information about a good negroe servant inquire at the Printing Office."

The output of these presses varied, but none ranked high in quantity. An almanac, a few broadsides, a pamphlet or two

were the extent of a year's publication. For some, printing the records of the government sessions was a task recurring annually or even quarterly. But the newspaper was the principal occupation of the staff. It had its own problems, chief among them being the difficulty of getting news regularly and promptly. This is not the place for a discussion of provincial newspapers; it will be sufficient to note a few of the apologies offered by the lady publishers. Mrs. Rind had to announce, in February 1774, "no mail from the Northward this week"; and Mrs. Crouch, founding the *Salem Gazette* in wintertime, admitted that news would be hard to come by for awhile. The latter was troubled as well by the failure of her paper supply, and was forced "to make use of an inferior quality" on several occasions.

But while lack of news or paper might be humiliating, it was lack of money that really hurt. The tremendous growth of consumer credit is a notable phenomenon of our time, but certainly in those days few people paid cash in advance, at least to the printer. The minimum number of subscribers to make a weekly paper a financial possibility was about three hundred; unfortunately, many subscribers let their bills pile up for years. It was a source of constant distress to printers everywhere, and the pages of their newspapers were filled with pleas to settle up and threats of retribution. Mrs. Zenger was forced to request, "All persons in arrear for this paper, are desired to pay off the arrearage, to enable the Printer to keep the press going"; and Mrs. Timothy of Charleston, South Carolina, warned that "Persons will be employ'd" to collect from subscribers who "owe from three to eight years."

As to the actual part the ladies played in their printing offices, there is little information. Isaiah Thomas, the great printer-publisher and historian of American printing, reported that the daughters of Ann Franklin were "correct and quick compositors"; and undoubtedly in many instances the female as well as the male proprietor had to be prepared to take over such work in an emergency. Editorial work and the handling of accounts were more likely their accustomed occupations; yet even here one notes that at one time or another most of the women had partners.

Dinah Nuthead, Ann Franklin, and Cornelia Bradford

THE story of Dinah Nuthead has been told by Lawrence Wroth in as full detail as it is likely to be known; only a brief summary is needed here.¹ Her husband, William Nuthead, set up his printing plant — the second of the colonies — in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1682. However, the authorities were against the enterprise and he shortly moved to Maryland, where he acted as public printer for the Province and had also a flourishing business in all sorts of printed forms. What else he produced is hard to tell, since only a single broadside of his remains.

Dinah Nuthead — her maiden name, as well as the date of her marriage, is unknown — was a woman of little education since she seems never to have learned to write. Her husband died early in 1695, without leaving a will. The inventory of his property shows that, besides the printing press and type which were appraised at only five pounds, his principal legacy was that of uncollected debts. There were at least sixty accounts outstanding, with the amount owed ranging from thirty to three thousands pounds of tobacco (the medium of currency), with a total value of nearly one hundred pounds sterling.

Shortly before his death William had signed a petition against the removal of Maryland's capital from St. Mary's City, his home, to the new town of Annapolis. But in spite of the many protests, the government did move and with them went Widow Nuthead and her two children, William and Susannah. She applied for and obtained permission to print, two of her former neighbors in St. Mary's posting a hundred pound bond for her good behavior. The government however stipulated that Mrs. Nuthead only use the press for the printing of "blank bills, bonds, writts, warrants of attorney, letters of administration, and other like blanks," unless a special license was obtained from the Governor.

Until 1930 no remnants of Dinah's printing were known. In that year a number of printed forms were found in the Maryland Land Office which proved, because King William III's name alone was used in the legal formulas, to be attributable only to her. These poor fragments are not lovely; short though

they are, they are full of errors of spelling. Yet they are the earliest output of an American woman's press.

Dinah Nuthead carried on her husband's business for a short time; soon she remarried, her second husband being Manus Devoran. After the latter's death in 1700, she was married once more, to a German by the name of Sebastian Oley, whom she also survived.

*

Ann Franklin, sister-in-law of Benjamin Franklin, wife of a printer and mother of another, was the first woman in the colonies whose imprint appeared on a book as publisher. She was also the first American woman to act as printer to a legislative body. The daughter of Samuel and Anna Smith, she was born in Boston on October 2, 1696, and married James Franklin in 1723. For a few years the couple remained in Boston where James had his printing shop, but in 1727 they moved to Newport, Rhode Island.

Early in 1735 Mrs. Franklin was left a widow with three young daughters and a son. She immediately set herself to carrying on the work of the press and soon issued a hundred and fifty page volume, *A Brief Essay on the Number Seven* . . . The next fall she upheld an age-old printers' tradition by publishing an almanac, prepared by Joseph Stafford. Two years later, when Stafford's work was turned over to a Boston firm, she was forced to prepare her own, thus becoming also one of the first woman almanac writers. The series, utilizing her husband's pseudonym of "Poor Robin," continued for three years. After that she depended upon Benjamin Franklin to supply her shop with almanacs.

In October, 1736, the General Assembly of the colony had voted to issue a supplement to the public laws, appointing a committee to "treat with the Widow Franklin about printing said acts, and inquire into her ability for that purpose; and if it appears to them that she is qualified for the same, and they can agree with her upon reasonable terms, that she be employed to do the same as conveniently as may be." Ann Franklin was duly adjudged "qualified," and the parties agreed to the "reasonable terms" of ten pounds.

Early in 1744 a complete revision of the *Acts and Laws* was

T H E
CHARTER

Granted by His MAJESTY

King C H A R L E S II.

T O

The Governor and Company

O F

The *English* C O L O N Y

O F

Rhode-Island

A N D

PROVIDENCE-Plantations,

I N N E W - E N G L A N D

I N

A M E R I C A.

N E W P O R T, Rhode-Island :

Printed by the Widow FRANKLIN, and to be Sold at the
Town School-House. M,DCC,XLIV.

voted to be printed in an edition of five hundred copies and bound in marble paper. The Committee of the Assembly provided the paper, and John Callender, one of its members, was paid thirty pounds "for correcting the press." Mrs. Franklin, however, printed a number of law books for herself, "over and above what she was employed to print for the colony." She was disciplined for her breach of the contract by being forbidden to sell any of her extra books for one year, upon penalty of five pounds per book sold. (Since the price for the copies in the hands of the General Treasurer was only thirty shillings, there was little incentive for her to disobey.) Yet when the Assembly decided in 1747 that the record of their sessions should be printed regularly — rather than transcribed by hand for each town — it was specifically authorized "that the printer shall have liberty to make as many more copies as he or she shall think fit, and dispose of the same for his or her private profit or advantage." From then on the Franklin firm was responsible for printing the so-called Schedules.²

In the summer of 1748 James Franklin Jr. became a partner with his mother. Next year he issued the first book with his name alone in the imprint, William Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude*. His mother, however, was by no means ready to retire, especially where money was concerned. For ten more years bills submitted for government work were made out in the joint names of Ann and James Franklin.

In 1758 James Franklin started a weekly newspaper, the *Newport Mercury*. It got him into trouble with the legislature because of his delay in printing the record of the sessions. He admitted his fault but, "having procur'd an assistant," he promised to do better in the future. Yet without his mother's efficient hand in the printing office, things continued to go wrong. James mislaid a whole batch of finished sheets one year, to the disgust of the Secretary. In fact, this "high, mighty, indolent gentleman" so incensed the Assembly that the law requiring the printing of the sessions to be done by the Newport printer was repealed and at least twice in 1759 the work was sent to Boston. However, the following year the task was returned to James Franklin's office.

After the death of her son in April 1762, Ann Franklin, at

the age of sixty-five, emerged from her retirement to carry on the business once more. For a year, with the help of Samuel Hall she continued the *Newport Mercury*, and printed the Schedules and individual Acts for the government. On April 19, 1763, she died, having outlived all her children. The obituary in her newspaper paid her high tribute:

. . . She was a woman of great integrity and uprightness in her station and conversation, and was well beloved in the town. She was a faithful friend, and a compassionate benefactor to the poor . . . and often relieved them in the extremity of winter. And, she was a constant and seasonable attendant on public worship, and would not suffer herself to be detained by trivial family-concerns: herein she excell'd most of her sex . . .³

*

Cornelia Smith Bradford, of a well-to-do New York family, was the second wife of Andrew Bradford, the son of William Bradford and for some years the only printer in Philadelphia. Andrew died there in November of 1742, two years after his marriage. Besides his personal effects, he bequeathed his widow his share in the Durham Iron Works and five hundred acres of land in lower Dublin Pennsylvania. The real estate in Philadelphia and the printing press and its appurtenances were left for Cornelia's use in her lifetime.⁴

Even more than the usual delays were attendant upon the settling of the estate, for while the first notice to pay debts and present accounts appeared on March 24, 1743, a year and a half later Cornelia was forced to threaten the debtors "to put that in execution against them, which if possible, she would by all means avoid." Three years later she was still pleading for settlement.

A week after Andrew Bradford's death the *American Weekly Mercury*, which he had founded in 1718, re-appeared, with heavy black lines on every page. The new publisher, "the Widow Bradford," apologized for the omission of the previous issue and notified her customers that "all persons who have any printing work to do, or have any occasion for stationary ware, shall be thankfully serv'd at the lowest prices." For a while she had as editor and manager Isaiah Warner, a "young Beginner" he called himself, who had served his apprenticeship

in the Bradford shop. But in the fall of 1744 he went out on his own, and for the next two years, till the paper ceased publication, Mrs. Bradford's name alone appeared in the imprint.

Philadelphians must have been avid users of almanacs, for from November 1 to December 31, 1743, the firm of Bradford and Warner printed no less than five: those of William Ball, William Birkett, John Jerman, Titan Leed, and Jacob Taylor. This first year, however, marks the highpoint of Cornelia's output. By 1746 she was publishing only Birkett. There is no evidence for any production from her press in the following two years, but then for three consecutive years she again published an almanac.

Mrs. Bradford had another important source of income in the family store which sold stationery supplies of all types as well as many books. "Good English glue" could be bought both wholesale and retail, while lamp-black was made and sold. Book-binding was a regular service; customers however were apt to forget to return for their orders, forcing Cornelia to announce that all books not called for would be sold to pay for the binding. The Bradford company had been advertised from the beginning as "at the sign of the Bible," and the widow carried on the tradition by stocking "folio, octavo and duodecimo Bibles, Testaments of several prices, large & small Common-Prayer-Books, Tate & Brady's Psalms." She had both serious and lighter works for sale, as well as children's primers; the most popular author was Daniel Defoe with four of his books on the list — one of them being *Moll Flanders*.

Cornelia Bradford died in August 1755. Her will is an interesting document, giving much information about her family and possessions. Her property was to be divided among her two nephews and two nieces; indeed, three of the legatees were already occupying houses on their land. Her two negro servants were given their freedom, with the added provision of three pounds a year if either of them should become incapable of earning a living. Her will was signed with an "X," which, unless the result of temporary physical inability, indicates that, in spite of her years of association with books, Mrs. Bradford, like Dinah Nuthead, was illiterate.⁵

Elizabeth Timothy, Printer of South Carolina

ELIZABETH TIMOTHY, for eight years printer of the Colony of South Carolina, was born in the first years of the eighteenth century in Holland. She married there, about 1723, a young Huguenot refugee, Louis Timothée, who took up printing as a trade. In 1731 the couple, together with their four children, emigrated to America. Landing in Philadelphia, Timothée attempted to support his family as a teacher. In the *Philadelphia Gazette* for October 14, 1731, his advertisement first appeared:

This is to give notice, that Mr. Louis Timothee, master of the French tongue, hath settled himself with his family in this city, in order to keep a publick French school; he will also, if required, teach the said language to any young Gentlemen or Ladies, at their lodgings.

He dwelleth in Front-street, next door to Dr. Kearsley.

About this time Timothée became acquainted with young Benjamin Franklin, and in June of the following year the two joined in promoting a bi-weekly German newspaper, to be known as the *Philadelphische Zeitung*. Timothée was described as "language master," responsible for translating any advertisements. The venture was not a success, yet Franklin's association with the family was to continue for more than forty years. Timothée became a journeyman in his establishment, and for some time served as the first librarian of the Philadelphia Library Company. At the time he lived in a house in Jones Alley (now Church Street), one room of which was set aside for the Library.⁶

In the fall of 1733 Timothée entered into a six-year contract with Franklin to go to Charleston, South Carolina, and take over the printing office of the late Thomas Whitmarsh who, himself financed by Franklin, had gone there in answer to an appeal by the Governor and House of Assembly. Elizabeth stayed in Philadelphia at least through the following March to settle their affairs. Franklin's ledger and journal show that she paid him, on her departure, some sixteen pounds, of which fourteen were for rent which he had advanced. In the meantime her husband had re-established Whitmarsh's paper, the

South-Carolina Gazette, and shortly thereafter anglicized his name to Lewis Timothy.

During the next few years Mrs. Timothy was doubtless kept busy with her growing family. The southern town was congenial, for it had a large Huguenot population, most of which, like the Timothys themselves, turned to a more socially "correct" church, the Timothys joining St. Philip's Episcopal Church. Lewis became a founder of the South Carolina Society, a social and charitable organization of Franco-Americans, and in 1736 obtained a land grant of six hundred acres and a town lot in Charleston. This period of calm prosperity was broken in the summer of 1738 by a smallpox epidemic which took the life of his youngest boy. In October Timothy apologized for a delay in his paper "by reason of sickness, myself and son having been visited with this fever that reigns at present." By the end of the year he was dead, although it seems by accident.

On January 4, 1739, Mrs. Timothy announced her resolution to carry on the paper as usual, hoping "by the assistance of my friends, to make it as entertaining and correct as may be reasonably expected," and requesting her husband's subscribers and benefactors "to continue their favours and good offices to his poor afflicted Widow and six small children and another hourly is expected." As the contract with Franklin had not yet run its course, it was continued with Mrs. Timothy, and at the end of the year she was able to buy up the press and equipment for herself. From the first, it was the name of her eldest boy Peter, about fourteen, that alone appeared in the imprint both of the newspaper and of the books they published. Yet the business and financial end of things she kept firmly in her own hands.

Although as early as the end of January 1739 the Timothys advertised two books (both continuations of the smallpox-inoculation controversy, which had been going on for some time) as "being in the press," neither one appeared until the middle of May, and little other work was done that year except for the *Gazette*. Mrs. Timothy explained in November when, as administrator of the estate, she requested a prompt settlement of all debts, that "she hath been much retarded by sick-

ness, as well of herself as her family." During the preceding fall she had lost two more sons.

At this same time the House of Commons paid to her, as administrator, the sum of £173, which it owed to her husband toward the printing of the Session Laws for the previous year. From then, at least till the middle of 1746, there is a full account of her relations with that body as public printer for the colony.⁷ Her first big problem arose in connection with these same laws, for, presumably because of sickness and the difficulty of getting proper help, their printing was greatly delayed. She presented a petition to the legislature early in 1741, pointing out that, although several sheets had been printed by her husband before his death, she "was left, with a large family of seven small children, greatly involved in debt, on account of printing the said laws, and unable to go on with the printing them, till in a few months past." The work was to have been paid for in large measure by subscriptions, and she went on to say that, because of the delay, "many of the subscribed either died, or had departed this province; most of whom having received part of the said laws, had left the remaining part in the hands of the petitioner unpaid for." There was still another problem: the General Assembly had agreed to allow Timothy a gratuity of five pounds per sheet for this, but

the petitioner had been obliged to send for a workman to help finish the said laws; to whom the petitioner paid the sum of £4 and 10s per week besides his board. Since which it appeared to the petitioner, labouring under the disadvantages afore-mentioned, that the said £5:00:00 per sheet was greatly insufficient to enable the petitioner to go on with the printing the said laws.

Upon due deliberation, the House agreed to increase the allowance to six pounds per sheet, "in consideration of the petitioner's delivering fifty-five copies of the printed laws," one for each of the members of His Majesty's Council and the members of the House of Commons.

In the meantime the Timothy firm had been printing various Acts and Reports for the legislators, both separately and in the pages of the *Gazette*. But after a bill of £56:15 had been presented, largely for printing proclamations and abstracts of laws in the newspaper, the House voted to make no further provision

for paying such charges, "it being the opinion of this House that those articles may be inserted in that paper instead of news." They had reasons also for dissatisfaction with the execution of the work. On November 24, 1742, they decided to look for another printer:

Whereas the printer in this Province hath not printed the Laws and other public business with that accuracy and dispatch which was necessary, it is therefore resolved, that any capable printer who shall come over to this Province from England to settle here shall (during his good behaviour) have the printing of the Laws and all other public business.

Poor Mrs. Timothy! A considerable portion of her income came from official work, and its elimination would have been a severe blow. Fortunately, nothing more was heard of this resolution in the Journals, and the relations between legislature and printer continued more or less amicably.

Benjamin Franklin testified to Mrs. Timothy's capable business sense, which apparently included a habit of padding her accounts. On several occasions the Committee on Petitions and Accounts was forced to take her to task. In February 1743 they found an over-charge of some £35 out of a total bill of £1,135, and shortly after they were emphatic:

We think her account is exorbitant, as to the charge of printing the Report on the Augustine expedition, and recommend it to be reconsidered. We observe that she hath charged £20 per sheet for the report, and £25 per sheet for the Appendix, whereas in the same account she hath charged only £10 per sheet for printing some laws, which, upon examination are found to contain in the same type more words in a line, and more lines in a page, than the said Report doth; and therefore we think there can be no reason for allowing more for the Report or Appendix than for the Laws, but rather the contrary, as she was so dilatory and negligent in printing the Report.

The upshot was a new resolution that two hundred pounds be deducted out of the sum allowed the printer "and that the matter be further enquired into next year."

On another occasion, however, Elizabeth came off victoriously. The Committee "observed an over-charge of sundry articles, amounting to twenty-nine pounds" in one account, but when referred to the House it appeared that "an article of

twenty-five pounds charged in the said account, and disallowed by the committee, was done by the order of his Majesty's Honourable Council." The latest volume of the House of Commons Journals, published only in 1956, ends in the middle of 1746, at which time it is likely that Mrs. Timothy ceased from active participation in the firm. In the seven and a half years preceding, as the records show, at least twenty-eight hundred pounds had been paid to her for government work.

Although the legislators criticized the Timothy firm for dilatoriness, the presses were far from idle. Besides the official printing and the weekly paper, there was a steady stream of other works, the majority of a religious nature. The local preachers had many of their sermons printed, and before the end of 1746 at least five volumes had appeared by or relating to George Whitefield. Among the more interesting products are a *Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, published in 1741 by subscription; *A Black Joak Blazing, or The secret History of Caesar & Dianna, a poem humbly inscribed to Mrs. Bald-Joak* (1741); and the translation of a French work by James de la Chappelle on the culture and manufacture of indigo (1746).

Mrs. Timothy continued her good relations with Benjamin Franklin, and his account books show that he kept her supplied, among other things, with almanacs, since the Timothys at no time seem to have issued one of their own. He had previously helped her husband in the same way. There is no indication of any orders for the years 1739 (just after Lewis's death) or 1740, but for the next eight years the little volumes arrived regularly, usually averaging two or three hundred copies. On January 5, 1745, Franklin billed her for one thousand, the largest single order recorded from the firm. In February 1741 Mrs. Timothy published *The Querists* (a pamphlet in the Whitefield controversy); and as the edition apparently sold out, she purchased two and a half dozen copies from Franklin's edition. Occasionally Franklin acted as agent for various types of merchandise, shipping her a box of candles and barrels of beer, tallow, and flour, and once half a gallon of varnish.⁸

Peter Timothy seems to have attained his majority about the middle of 1746, and at that time Elizabeth turned the business completely over to him. In that year she made it known

that she planned "to depart this Province," and requested all those still indebted either to the estate of Lewis Timothy or to herself for the *Gazette* and other things to pay off their debts at once. Yet in June Benjamin Franklin had sent her "sundry books" to the amount of £12:18, and in December she was operating a small book and stationery store. The next March she was to receive a further shipment, books of a religious turn, the largest quantity of a single item being two dozen "Scotch Psalters."

Soon afterwards she really left Charleston. Between 1748, when her attorney advertised in her absence for a prompt settling of her affairs, and July 1756, when she was back in Charleston, her whereabouts is unknown. It is possible that she had returned to Philadelphia. She died sometime in April 1757, and her will shows how well her business abilities had served her. To her son Peter, successfully carrying on the family firm, she left "all my Books of Account . . . and whatsoever may be due upon said Books." She left in his custody also "a silver watch which did belong to my late husband," with the provision that it should go eventually to her grandson. Of her three daughters, two were married and one a widow; to each she left a house and two or three slaves, as well as other bequests.⁹

Peter Timothy, as he reached middle age, became increasingly involved in politics and thought seriously of giving up the business in favor of "getting a post."¹⁰ Fortunately for his wife, Ann Donovan, he never realized his ambition; and, when in 1782 he and two of their married daughters were shipwrecked and drowned, his widow was able to carry on the family tradition and take over the press herself until her death ten years later. The child of their old age, Benjamin Franklin Timothy, continued the paper into the nineteenth century.

The Widow of John Peter Zenger

WITH the exception of Benjamin Franklin, the Zengers of New York, because of their outstanding position in the history of the freedom of the press, have had great-

er popular appeal than any other early American printers. Within recent years biographies have appeared both about John Peter Zenger and his wife.¹¹

On September 11, 1722, Anna Catharine Maul or Maulin was married in the old Dutch Reformed Church of New York to John Peter Zenger, a young widower of twenty-five. They belonged to those refugee families from the Palatinate who had fled first to the Netherlands then to England, from where they were shipped to America. They may well have first met as youngsters of thirteen when, in 1710, they reached this country, each accompanying a widowed mother and several brothers and sisters. Zenger was apprenticed to William Bradford of New York, and moved afterwards to Maryland, where he was appointed printer to the Assembly. His years in Maryland are obscure, since no imprints of his remain and the documents of his naturalization indicate that his press was in Kent County near Chesterton, rather than at the capital city of Annapolis. On his way to the south, in Philadelphia he married Mary White, who died shortly thereafter. Returning to New York, in the first few years of his marriage to Anna Catharine, he worked for Bradford as a journeyman. In 1725 the two formed a partnership long enough to publish a book in Dutch.

The next year he moved to Smith Street and set up his own shop. For his wife the time must have passed much as it did for other housewives, with births, marriages, and deaths occupying a large part of her life. Zenger became a citizen of New York, and earned some extra money as organ blower and later as organist in the Dutch Church. In November 1733 a major change came into his life. On the fifth of that month he published the first issue of the *New York Weekly Journal*, a newspaper opposed to Bradford's *New York Gazette*, an organ of the government, which was strongly disliked by many prominent men.

The articles which filled the *Journal's* pages so incensed the Governor and Council that in the fall of 1734 an order was issued to burn certain numbers. Zenger himself was arrested on charges of libel. His bail was set far beyond his ability to pay, and for ten months he languished in prison. During this period Catharine Zenger won the distinction of being the first woman

in the colonies to publish a newspaper, for, except for one issue, the *Journal* appeared regularly under her guidance. Her husband's name continued in the imprint, and she undoubtedly conferred with him as well as with their backers. One would like to accept her biographer's theory that she was the moving force behind the entire enterprise, and that hers was even the anonymous pen that, used in the name of freedom, so vexed the Governor. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for this.

After the trial, which brought a verdict of not guilty, thanks to the brilliant defence of Andrew Hamilton, the printing for the colony of New York was placed in Zenger's hands, and the following year he succeeded to the same position also in New Jersey. All these facts are widely known. What is past over in the popular accounts is, that he soon lost both offices, owing to his being "an indifferent printer and very ignorant of the English language." On July 28, 1746, he died intestate, with his widow appointed administrator.

When she had to take over the press, Mrs. Zenger had some experience, to say nothing of a houseful of boys whom she could impress for help. The earliest issue of the *New York Weekly Journal* with her name in the imprint dates from September 1, 1746. One finds the usual notice of intention to carry on the paper and the hope that "the gentlemen who have been the deceased's kind benefactors will still continue to be such in encouraging the said paper as before." The most interesting item in the first number was an advertisement of *The Book of the Chronicles of the Duke of Cumberland*, by J. Anderson. The notice read: "Just published, and are to be sold by John Zenger, Junior at the Widow Zenger's . . .," seemingly indicating a partnership of some sort, Junior perhaps running the bookstore. But in the next extant issue the same advertisement appeared as "Just published and to be sold by the Widow Zenger . . ."¹² Young John Zenger's name did not appear again until the paper was transferred to him in 1748.

John Zenger Jr. was evidently John Peter's eldest son; Isaiah Thomas's suggestion, however, that he was still a minor at his father's death, seems erroneous, as he was by then twenty-three years old.¹³ Some writers contend that he was the son of the first Mrs. Zenger, but this theory is weakened by

the fact that in August 1736 the Mayoralty Court of New York recommended to Alexander Malcolm, the Public Schoolmaster of the city, that Johan Zenger, son of John Peter Zenger, printer "be taught the Latin Tongue and Mathematicks, according to the Directions of the Act of Assembly";¹⁴ and it is far more likely that such an opportunity would be given a lad of thirteen (which he would have been if the son of Catharine) than one of seventeen (which he would have been if the son of the first Mrs. Zenger). In 1741 the boy married Anneke Lynssen and it is possible that, like his father before him, wanderlust drove him away from New York for a few years. Peter, twenty-one years old, and Nicolas, nineteen, would still remain to help their mother, as well as the two younger boys.

Mrs. Zenger's career as printer, publisher, and general business woman is thoroughly typical. She seems to have had a good sense of journalism, often leaving the last column of her newspaper for late news, rather than filling it up with the ads which could be set ahead of time. When necessary, "stop press" flashes were added by a single line of italics running vertically along the edge of the page. But besides the weekly paper, she found time to publish several small volumes, including the yearly Almanack prepared by John Nathan. Early in April 1747 she printed two pamphlets, *A Genuine and Authentick Account of the Behaviour and Dying Words of the Lord Balmorine, and the Earl of Kilmarnock . . .* and *The Lives, Parentage, and last Dying Speech of the Rebel Lords aforesaid . . .* These gentlemen were beheaded in the Tower of London as Jacobites in 1746. Apparently they created considerable interest in America, for James Foster's account of Lord Kilmarnock was reprinted in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Four months later appeared *An Answer to the Council of Proprietors . . .* and in December *The Country Man's Help and Traders Friend*. From 1748 date *The Cries of the Oppressed . . . at the Taking of Bergen op Zoom by the French* and *The Congress of the Beasts*, the latter translated from High Dutch.

In her shop Catharine Zenger must have sold also other books but the only ones she advertised were *The Charter of the City of New York* (printed by her husband in 1735) and some "curious High Dutch Almanacks," *Der Hoch-Deutsch Ameri-*

canishe Calender published in Philadelphia by Christopher Saur. The miscellanies of the store included "very good Bonnet Papers" which were regularly carried in stock and a choice parcel of China Ware. Book-binding for the firm was done by John Hinshaw, succeeding Henry De Foreest when the latter set up his own press. Naturally Mrs. Zenger was prepared with all sorts of blanks for her customers — bonds, indentures, bills of lading, etc. But in the late summer of 1747 she must have had a period of discouragement, as someone circulated the rumor that she had gone out of business. For the rest of the year she was forced to run an announcement in the *Journal* that "the said report is notoriously false, and that the said Widow still continues the printing business, where any person may have their work done reasonably, in a good manner, with expedition."

When in December of 1748 John Zenger Jr. at last took over the paper and Mrs. Zenger could retire, she continued to handle the book-store, still advertising the inexhaustible supply of *The Book of the Chronicles*. Some time later, probably in September 1750, she seems to have opened a small shop of her own, for the New York *Charter* was announced as for sale "by the Widow Catharine Zenger, near Hermanus Rutgers on Golden-Hill, also by the Printer hereof." On his death the following year, John left "no person qualified to carry on his business," for Mrs. Zenger no longer had the desire to return to the printing office and the other boys had gone on to other occupations. The press and types were sold.

There is one more notice of Catharine Zenger. Mary Crosbie of Jamaica, Queens County, who died in 1751, left her estate to the Reverend David Bostwick, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Jamaica, with the request that the money should be used for the reprinting of two small books of her own composition. Of the edition five pounds worth were bequeathed "to the widow of John Peter Zenger, of New York."¹⁵ The indomitable widow may have been still selling books at that time.

(To be concluded)

Notes

1. L. C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922), 1-16; "The St. Mary's City Press, a New Chronology of American Printing," *The Colophon*, New Series, I, no. 3, 333-67.
2. J. R. Bartlett (ed.), *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1856-65, IV, 524-25; V, 67-125 *passim*; *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode-Island . . . anno 1745 to anno 1752* (Newport, 1752), 43-44.
3. Howard M. Chapin, "Ann Franklin of Newport, Printer, 1736-1763;" *Bibliographic Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 337-344.
4. Anna J. DeArmond, *Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist* (Newark, Del., 1949), 243-44.
5. *Ibid.*, 245-46.
6. William Friedman, "The First Librarian of America," *Library Journal*, LVI (Nov. 1931), 902-03.
7. *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly* (Columbia, S. C., 1951-56), Vol. II, IV, V, *passim*.
8. G. S. Eddy (ed.), *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin Ledger "D" 1739-1747* (New York, 1929), 121.
9. Henig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia, S. C., 1953), 241.
10. Albert H. Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1907), V, 446-47.
11. Tom Galt, *Peter Zenger, Fighter for Freedom* (New York, 1951); Kent Cooper, *Anna Zenger, Mother of Freedom* (New York, 1946).
12. Evans, in his *American Bibliography* (no. 5732), implies that *The Book of the Chronicles* was published by Catharine Zenger; unfortunately, earlier issues of the *Journal* advertise the book as "just published and to be sold" by her husband.
13. *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XIX (1888), 169. Here is listed the baptism in November, 1723, of Johannes, son of Anna Catharina and Johan Peter Zenger. By some oversight the Zenger name does not appear in the index of the volume, hence a casual search through these printed records of the New York Dutch Church might pass by this reference.
14. Richard B. Morris (ed.), *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784* (Washington, D. C., 1935), 189.
15. *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XXVIII (1895), 353.

Emerson and Prince Achille Murat

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

ONE of the most unusual men young Emerson met was Prince Achille Murat, son of the late King of Naples, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, political exile, Florida planter and lawyer, and American citizen. Vastly different in background, training, and convictions, these two men in their early twenties met by accident in Florida in 1827 and spent a nine-day sea voyage in the same small ship's cabin discussing religion. They parted at the end of the journey, never to meet again, with a profound respect for each other.

Twenty-four year old Waldo Emerson had come South a few months before to regain his health. Never a robust youth, as none of the Emerson boys were, he had been troubled with his eyes, rheumatic pains in his hips, and symptoms of tuberculosis. Unable to fulfill preaching engagements or to continue theological studies, Emerson had been persuaded to go South on money lent by the Reverend Samuel Ripley. He arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, in December, 1826, his first time outside of New England, but found winter there so cold and damp that in January he moved on to St. Augustine, Florida. There the sunshine and sea breezes improved his health, and he gained weight.

Emerson had come South with a mind as disturbed as his body. Financial strain and unfulfilled ambition plagued him; the continuous debate that he had carried on with himself and his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, had for the past two years increased in intensity. His decision to enter the ministry had been sorely tested when his brother William returned in 1825 from study in Germany and announced that in view of the higher criticism of the Bible he had given up the ministry. Emerson argued with himself, alternating between a willingness to accept the German scholarship and his Aunt Mary's brand of orthodoxy.¹ Licensed in October, 1826, he had preached a few sermons when his faith was further shaken by the publication of Samson Reed's *Observations on the Growth*

of the *Mind* which attacked the "historical fallacy" of Christianity.² Thus, when he journeyed South in search of health, Emerson was also in search of a faith.

Since Murat's early history is not generally known, a brief sketch of his life up to his twenty-sixth year may show that he too was in search of a faith when he met Emerson.³ Son of Napoleon's favorite sister Caroline and of Joachim Murat, Napoleon's famous cavalry leader and marshal, Achille was born in Paris on January 21, 1801. When Napoleon made his father Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves in 1806, the boy received the title of Duke of Cleves; and, when his father became King of Naples in 1808, he was made a prince. Achille's most vivid memory of that period was being slapped by Napoleon for some remark which displeased him. At fourteen he saw his father disgraced because of his desertion of the Emperor. After the flight from Italy with his mother and younger brother and sisters, he heard the reports of his father's execution. Held under surveillance in a castle in Austria and watched by the secret police, the high-strung youth turned to drinking and maintained a studied denial of loyalty to France.

Further agitated by letters from his uncle, Joseph Bonaparte, an exile who pictured the United States as free of tyranny, he eventually escaped from Europe, arriving in New York in May, 1823. After a lengthy visit with his uncle, in New Jersey, Achille went to Washington, where Richard K. Call, territorial representative from Florida, persuaded him to seek his fortune in Florida. Reaching St. Augustine in April, 1824, he purchased slaves and a plantation near the newly established capital, Tallahassee. He spent a month camping out and living on wild game on the journey to his new home. On the way he observed the American frontier, which he later graphically described in letters to a friend in Europe.⁴ The fringes of the frontier, he explained, were still held by Indians, among whom lived a few white hunters and traders such as were described in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*, copies of which he sent his friend. The next stage in the development of the frontier, Murat explained, was the coming of the squatters who, given to idleness and drink, built a cabin in a clearing, grew a crop, and then moved on. He wrote his friend:

I should prefer establishing myself where I witnessed the laying the foundation-stone of a town or city, the land of which I assisted in clearing, and watch its progressive advancement until, in the course of three or six years, I behold a new State arise, as if by enchantment; see new laws — new social edifices, where but lately the barbarous cries of the Indian were heard . . .⁵

Though he mentions no specific names, Murat doubtless described the Tallahassee area with which he was familiar:

The rising capital . . . since the holding of the first Council, assumed a new form. A plan has been adopted, the streets have been cleared, lots sold on credit, and a *capitol* has been decreed. A crowd of people are expected at the sales [of land], courts, assemblies, and the Legislature.⁶

Hotels sprang up, crowded dozens of beds into windowless, barn-like rooms, and charged a dollar each to customers who had to find their own beds, and "nobody is so ridiculous or fastidious as to trouble himself as to who is his neighbor, more than in the pit of a theater." Murat lived in a log house, confident that substantial citizens from the older states would soon arrive to create a planter class:

Beneath the roof of this wild habitation, you will find a family almost as well brought up and educated as many in Boston and New York. Their manners are far from rustic. They have quitted the world for a time, and are creating a new one around them. They receive their letters and journals, and are well-informed in the politics of the day. Among these you will not unfrequently find an establishment inhabited by one whose name has been honorably mentioned in the papers, and one who, perhaps, has distinguished himself for his eloquence in Congress or some State Legislature.⁷

Among these people was the family of Byrd C. Willis of Virginia, whose widowed daughter, Catherine Daingerfield Willis Gray, was a grandniece of George Washington. Prince Murat courted the young widow, married her on July 12, 1826, and went to live on his plantation "Lipona," named for his family's country seat in Italy.

In the next spring he took his bride on a tour of the North and to meet his Uncle Joseph. They traveled overland to St. Augustine, stopping at a boarding house to await the arrival of a ship to take them to Charleston. By coincidence Emerson,

who had boarded at the same house during his three months in St. Augustine, was also waiting for the ship. The prince attracted his attention. However, only casual pleasantries passed between them, for Emerson later wrote his brother William that he did not become "much acquainted" with Murat until they went to sea.⁸

On March 28, 1827, the sloop *William* sailed from St. Augustine for Charleston, with the Murats and Emerson on board. Limited facilities forced the two young men to share the same cabin, Emerson in the lower berth and Murat in the upper. Normally, the seventy-five mile voyage would have taken one day; unfavorable weather — dead calm and storms — prolonged it to nine days. Emerson later wrote his brother that he and Murat "talked incessantly" during the voyage, despite the weather and shortage of food. The discussion largely concerned religion, a topic of vital interest to both. Emerson had found a contemporary as deeply interested in the subject as he was, for he described Murat to his brother William as "a philosopher, a scholar, a man of the world very skeptical but very candid and an ardent lover of truth."⁹ Murat, in turn, found Emerson an equally ardent lover of truth who expounded Unitarianism so convincingly that he ever after referred to that faith with kindness. Though Emerson in his *Journals* for the period described Murat as "a consistent Atheist, — and a disbeliever in the existence, and of course, in the immortality of the soul," Murat's extreme position may have been assumed, for his later writing does not show that he was a confirmed atheist.¹⁰ Agnostic he certainly was, a result his biographer thinks of his break with the Catholic church, which was "due, partly, to an inherited or acquired Bonaparte enmity towards the Vatican."¹¹ Disillusioned with religion generally, Murat was skeptical of religious practices in the United States, particularly of the camp meetings he had witnessed on the Florida frontier. Basing his interpretation of religion on eighteenth-century French philosophy, he despised Calvinism and any other doctrine which stressed the uncertainty of life, the imminence of death, and the tortures of hell-fire.¹²

Emerson attempted to convince Murat that Unitarianism was a rational search after truth, and was therefore a radical

departure from traditional religion in the United States, so much so that it was said to be as heretical as the Prince's own defection from the Catholic church. When Murat later wrote about Unitarianism, the effect of Emerson's argument is evident. "Unitarianism," he said, "promises to become the dominant sect among the more enlightened class" in America. He spoke of the simplicity of the doctrine, an order of worship "pure, elegant, and free from all sort of ceremony and superstition," and an appeal "to the mind's reason" in "sermons, which are generally moral discourses, possessing real literary merit." He complimented Dr. Channing, leader of the sect, as a man of "most exemplary virtue, a true Plato" and added, "nothing can surpass his eloquence, nor the purity of his morality, and of the doctrine which he inculcates."¹³

Emerson's belief that Murat was honestly seeking truth is reflected in an entry in his *Journals*, written soon after their parting in Charleston:

A new event is added to the quiet history of my life. I have connected myself by friendship to a man who with as ardent a love of truth as that which animates me, with a mind surpassing mine in the variety of its research, and sharpened and strengthened to an energy for *action* to which I have no pretensions, by advantages of birth and practical connexion with mankind beyond almost all men in the world . . . I love and honour this intrepid doubter. His soul is noble, and his virtue, as the virtue of a Sadducee must always be, is sublime.¹⁴

Four days after, he wrote to his Aunt Mary that he would later give her "an account of one whom it was my good fortune to meet in East Florida, a man of splendid birth and proud advantages, but a humble disciple in the school of truth."¹⁵ He told William: "I blessed my stars for my fine companion and we talked incessantly. Much more of him when I shall see you."¹⁶ In addition to Murat's love of truth, Emerson was impressed by his capacity for action, a trait which he respected but felt that he himself never possessed.¹⁷

When the two parted, they agreed to carry on their discussion by correspondence, assisting each other in the search for truth. The fate which had so capriciously brought them together determined that they should never meet again. The

Murats continued their tour of the North, and Emerson tarried on the way back to Concord, arriving there in June. Records of the promised correspondence are scarce, but Emerson evidently wrote Murat in July.¹⁸ From Point Breeze, Joseph Bonaparte's home in New Jersey, the Prince replied on September 3 that he had been ill since July, and that for three weeks he had had a paralysis of the hands and arms which prevented writing. He spoke of "plans, study and literary pursuits," adding, "I had here lost sight of the discussions which we intended to have together, but I intended as well as yourself to be able to continue it without interruption, before engaging [*sic*] in it."¹⁹ He confessed that his state of mind had "been altered since our meeting," and that Emerson's "system has acquired as much in proberbility as mine has lost in certainty, both seem to me now nearly equally proberbale." As further basis for debate, he proposed to write a monograph "of truth" as soon as he returned to Florida in the fall, when he would be free to engage in "any kind of polemical warfare which may lead to the mutual improvement of our minds." Referring to Unitarianism, he begged Emerson to come to Tallahassee to substitute "reason, learning and morality" for "non-sense, ignorance, fanaticism." "We have met by chance," he continued, "but I hope that the friendship you have inspired me, and you tell me I can claim from you, will be not the least lasting for it."

The promised "polemical warfare" never developed, because Murat became too absorbed in other activities. In Tallahassee, he resumed study of the law, begun before his Northern tour, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. He became a member of the territorial council, promoted the Florida Institute of Agriculture, and was an aggressive, energetic planter. He participated in a campaign against the Seminole Indians and became a colonel of the militia commanded by General Richard K. Call.²⁰

Then, in 1830 he suddenly returned to Europe as the July Revolution promised to make France a republic again. However, the Murats were refused entry into either Italy or France and spent the following two years in Belgium and London, where the Prince published his *Letters from the United States*.²¹

When the Revolution failed and Murat realized that he would never be permitted to participate in French affairs, he came back to Florida, never again to visit Europe.

Meanwhile, Emerson, who apparently had no news from Murat, recalled their brief association. When, for example, his brother Edward was planning to go South for his health, Emerson wrote William that the Prince could be helpful to him. "For myself," he wrote, "I would pay a hundred dollars to live a little while with Murat."²² A year later, he said again: "I wish you would tell me what you know of Murat whom you have twice mentioned. I hope no harm has befallen him. Has he forsaken this country? I look forward to opportunities of conversing with him again in the body or in the spirit."²³ No such opportunity arose, for not long after his return to Florida Murat was off on another adventure. In the fall of 1835 he abruptly abandoned his plantation for New Orleans, where before he was established in his law practice he bought a \$16,000 mansion. The Murats entertained groups from both Creole and Anglo-American society. Doubtless influenced by the wealthy planter society, the Prince contracted to pay \$100,000 for an up-river sugar plantation, slaves, and equipment. Located in the outskirts of Baton Rouge, "Magnolia Mound" surmounted a knoll of spreading oaks and magnolia trees. However, absorbed in social life and hunting, he neglected both his plantation and law practice and was soon in debt. The panic of 1837 forced him to relinquish his home, and soon he returned to Florida.²⁴ Emerson continued to remember him in the old connections. In May, 1836, while working on the essay *Nature* and recalling people who had "ministered" to his "highest wants," he recorded that "even Murat has a claim."²⁵ A year later he noted that Murat was an example of one who had "heroic manners"; and in 1839, after witnessing a muster of the state militia, he commented on the troops — "pioneers, soldiers, outlaws and homicides" — but also "Washington, Napoleon and murat [*sic*]."²⁶

At "Lipona" the Murats struggled through the depression which followed the panic of 1837. The demand for cotton eventually brought a return of prosperity, and the lean years were forgotten by 1845 when the Florida planters led their

state into the Union and celebrated the event at "Live Oak," the plantation of Governor John Branch. Murat, who had experienced the transition from wilderness to territory to state, did not long enjoy the fruits of what he considered a great republican adventure; within two years, he died at the age of forty-six. "From the day of his birth shortly after his mother had suffered a severe shock," his biographer writes, "he had never fully enjoyed unencumbered health . . . His body was never quite free of various weaknesses inherent in the Bonapartes; there were always gout and rheumatism."²⁷ His immoderate drinking — he never drank water which he said was fit only for animals — and his diet of milk and whiskey during periods of illness, agitated his naturally nervous temperament and brought early death. He died April 15, 1847, and was buried with Masonic honors in the Episcopal cemetery in Tallahassee.²⁸

Because of his background, Achille Murat had become somewhat of a legend before his death. Said to bear a striking resemblance to Napoleon, he was "ordinary in figure, and extraordinary in carelessness of dress; in manners, free, sometimes coarse." A large shaggy dog accompanied him everywhere, even into the parlors of his friends, and he sometimes used the dog's back as a spittoon. He had a predilection for odd dishes, such as baked owl which he served to William P. Duval, governor of Florida. This eccentricity and his dueling were the subject of a letter which appeared in Neal's *Saturday Gazette* and was reprinted shortly before his death in the *Spirit of the Times*, widely circulated New York sporting weekly:

Among the prominent citizens of Florida we find a live prince; the son of Murat, King of Naples. Prince Achille Murat is a singular genius. Inheriting all his father's courage, but little of his chivalric love of glory, he has settled down on a plantation, quite the citizen and spectator of the affairs of the world. Various anecdotes are related of him. The Prince once fought a duel. He came on the ground with his surgeon, and took his station, smoking a cigar. He quietly puffed, and when the word was given he fired. The unfortunate Floridian, his antagonist, was shot and fell. Murat's surgeon, seeing his employer bolt upright, ran to assist the fallen.

The Prince, who had a little finger cut nearly off by the other's ball, called to his surgeon — "What for you go there? See you,

doctair," holding up his finger dangling by a bit of skin, "I want you cut my finger off. Let him, poor devil, go. He's got what he came for. I pay you vun hundred dollair to come here and cut bullet out of my body if that rascal shoot him in. Let him pay for his own carving. If he not satisfied, I give him another ball just as soon as you can cut off my finger." But one ball did satisfy his antagonist, and they retired.

The prince is fond of hunting, and he goes in for the profits of the field and moor. Nothing that swims the water, flies the air, crawls or walks the earth, but that he has served up on his table. Alligator steak, frog's shins, boiled owls, and roasted crows are found palatable; but there is one animal that the prince don't like. The buzzard is one too many for him. "I try him fried; I try him roasted; I try him stewed, and I make soup of him, but the buzzard is not good. I have no prejudice against him, but I cook him every way, and then I no like him." Buzzard soup! think of that! It takes a Frenchman to *develope* the resources of a new country.

Well, we always thought that it was the Alligator that was not good. But "Buzzard" must be worse.²⁹

So it was that Achille Murat, patriotic American, student of American institutions, and a proud son who wished to exonerate his family name, lived on in the popular mind. But Emerson, the friend of his youth, remembered him at his best, "a philosopher, a scholar," and "an ardent lover of truth." Though he did not mention the Prince by name after 1839, he let stand in 1870, in his essay "Society and Solitude," a passage which he had written ten or twelve years earlier:

And if we recall the rare hours when we encountered the best persons, we then found ourselves, and then first society seemed to exist. That was society, though in the transom of a brig or on the Florida Keys. ³⁰

Notes

1. Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), 111-19.

2. This forty-four page pamphlet was widely circulated among the Transcendentalists, and Emerson is reported to have told his brother that it was the best thing since Plato.

3. The only full-length biography of Murat is A. J. Hanna's *A Prince in Their Midst, the Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier* (Norman, Okla., 1946).

4. The letters, written to Count Thibeaudeau who thought of following Murat to the United States, were published in 1830 as *Lettres d'un Citoyen des Etats-Unis à un de ses amis d'Europe*. Translated into English by Henry J. Bradfield, the book was published in 1833 in London as *A Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America*, and finally as *America and the Americans* (New York, 1849).

5. Murat, *America and the Americans*, 21-22.

6. *Ibid.*, 50.

7. *Ibid.*, 53.

8. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York, 1939), I, 194, hereafter referred to as *Letters*.

9. *Ibid.*

10. In his letter on religion in *America and the Americans*, p. 63, Murat spoke of the Episcopal church, "which I look upon and hold to be the true religion."

11. Hanna, *op. cit.*, 133.

12. *Ibid.* Murat described camp meetings on the Florida frontier at length in *America and the Americans*, 94-99. A real camp meeting, he wrote, "is a point of reunion for all idlers and young people, for those who have bargains to make or conclude, for candidates who are canvassing for election. Each attends to his or her own little private affairs, whether it be to sleep, eat, make love, sell a horse, disparage or elevate a candidate." Emerson also scorned the emotionalism of frontier camp meetings. In *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909), II, 178 (hereafter referred to as *Journals*), he recorded the statement of a North Carolina man who described "fanatics jumping about on all fours, imitating the barking of dogs and surrounding a tree in which they pretended they had 'treed Jesus.'"

13. Murat, *America and the Americans*, 99-100.

14. *Journals*, II, 183.

15. *Ibid.*, II, 185.

16. *Letters*, I, 194.

17. Regis Michaud, "A French Friend and Inspirer of Emerson," in *University of California Chronicle* for January, 1921, p. 121, exaggerates, perhaps, when he says that Murat was the first of Emerson's representative men.

18. Rusk, *Letters*, I, 202, speculates that Emerson's letter was dated July 28, 1827, since Murat's reply refers to a letter received "nearly one month ago." Rusk was unable to find Emerson's letter in the Murat papers.

19. Murat's letter, with the original spelling preserved, is printed in *Journals*, II, 187-91.

20. Murat ever after remembered this campaign with fondness. He accepted the popular concept that the "manifest destiny" of the United States was "to extend the peaceable conquest of civilization to the Pacific Ocean." — *America and the Americans*, 210. Concerning the Indians (pp. 197-98), he wrote: "I am no pseudo-philanthropist, and will frankly confess that this [extinction] is a most desirable result." Europeans misunderstood the Indian problem in America, "on which much idle nonsense is discussed, treating it with that morbid sentimentality so much in vogue among philosophers at the end of the last century."

21. In the preface to the London edition, Murat praised American self-

government, "from which so much good has emanated, and which is destined to govern the world" (xxi), and maintained, "Lafayette understands republican institutions, as I do, in the American manner" (xxiii). Of the failure of the July Revolution, he said, "Burning to see the place of my birth, to embrace old friends and a beloved family . . . I leave my plantation and my studies, and set off, believing that the cause of liberty was sure to be attacked, and sure also that a defender more would not be refused . . . My God! what is my disappointment!" (xxv).

22. *Letters*, I, 312, December 3, 1830.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 317, January 31, 1831.

24. In *Proceedings of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge*, II, 1917-18, appears an abstract of remarks by a Mrs. H. F. Magruder: "One day a friend of Mr. Duplantier's [who had sold "Magnolia Mound" to Murat] told him that he had better look after Prince Murat, that he was preparing to leave. 'Impossible,' exclaimed the old Frenchman, 'douter l'honneur d'un prince.' But it was 'possible' and a few mornings later when Mr. Duplantier drove down to the plantation he found that the prince had silently stolen away, leaving nothing behind but an armoire."

25. *Journals*, IV, 51.

26. *Ibid.*, IV, 226; V, 292.

27. Hanna, *op. cit.*, 231.

28. *The Floridian*, Tallahassee, April 17, 1847, noting Murat's death, erroneously stated that he came to the United States in 1821. "The deceased was a man of great eccentricity of character," the notice read, "was gifted with a high order of mind, which was enriched by solid literary acquirements, and was withal a most interesting and agreeable companion . . ."

29. *Spirit of the Times*, XVII (March 6, 1847), 2, p. 17.

30. *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1903-04), VII, 12. The editor noted, "The allusion here is to a happy experience, always remembered with pleasure," indicating that the statement was probably written as early as 1858 or 1859.

The Weston Sisters and "The Boston Controversy"

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

BY 1839 the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was flourishing. Lecturers were in the field and numerous local societies had been founded. But there were clouds on the horizon. Maria Weston Chapman recorded the development of the inter-abolitionist conflict in a little book entitled *Right and Wrong in Massachusetts* — the fourth volume in her series of reports on anti-slavery activities.

The first discordant note was the so-called "Clerical Appeal" by five ministers, which precipitated what became known as the "Boston Controversy." The appeal published in the *New England Spectator* of August 2, 1837, was directed against the Garrisonian brand of abolitionism, with its unsparing denunciation of the pro-slavery position in church or out. The appellants did not wish to have their clerical brethren offended. To their protest an anti-feminist motive came to be added: the New England Convention of 1838 was, according to Mrs. Chapman, "memorable as the scene of the first attempt to exclude women from membership in anti-slavery meetings." But the brunt of the movement was aimed at Garrison himself. He was accused of all kinds of aberrations which today would be labelled "isms." "It was triumphantly told," Mrs. Chapman reported, "that the Massachusetts Society had dropped the *Liberator*, that Mr. Garrison was a Fanny Wright man, an infidel, a Sabbath-breaker, a bad and dangerous man, promulgating the doctrines of the French Jacobins, etc., etc."

The anti-Garrisonian plot thickened, and a new rival paper, *The Massachusetts Abolitionist*, was started first by an editorial committee of twenty-seven, and later edited by Elizur Wright. The schismatics emphasized the obligation to vote, whereas the Garrisonians, while urging that those who did vote should do so for candidates friendly to the slave, maintained their predominantly moral and non-political character. The final break came through a disagreement with the Executive Committee of the so-called "Parent Society" in New York over a technicality — the failure of the Massachusetts Society to collect the

sum which it had pledged to the New York Committee under a new arrangement. Although at a meeting held in March 1839 the course of the Massachusetts body was upheld by a vote of 142 to 23 — and, as Mrs. Chapman expressed it, “the cloak of a mere *dun*” was exposed as one of the disguises of a hostile attitude — on May 29 the new Massachusetts Abolition Society (dissenting from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) was created. Its leading spirits were Charles Turner Torrey, Elizur Wright, and Amos A. Phelps.

Needless to say, the Westons were all heart and soul Garrisonians. When they referred to the movement, national as well as state, away from Garrisonian principles, they spoke of it as New Organization. In time the movement was to lead to a political Third Party, with an abolition candidate; but the band of the original moral abolitionists stood fast. As will appear in the letters, the Westons called the New Organizationists “peelers” — using the pungent symbol of an onion — peeling off principle after principle. The letters that follow are concerned largely with the shock of the new movement; they contain, however, serener interludes too, such as the friendly meeting with Margaret Fuller and the amused comments on an article by Harriet Martineau. A letter by Anne Weston is printed here first:

Boston, Jan. 9, 1839

Dear Aunt Mary,

You see how reduced I have become but I have only gilt edged paper and that I will not take . . . Out of compliment to Angeline, Debora and I went and heard Mr. Howe. His meeting was very thin, on account of Colver I suppose who takes all the Baptists. He preached only *tolerably*. He is not as smart a man as Parker. Dr. Farnsworth dined with us. He was quite discouraged about the Plot and thought the peelers would carry the day. He shewed us a most excellent letter from a Mr. Collins of Andover; I really thought I had written it.

I had somewhat of a cold and so did not go to meeting in the afternoon. Caroline and Debora went to the Free Church in the afternoon. Messrs Phelps and Mahan were preaching at a great rate there. I believe there is somewhat of a revival there. In the evening Johnson called. He appeared to be just waking up to the clerical plot. We all went to Dr. Follen's lecture in the evening. I liked the lecture very well. Garrison, W. Phillips and Mary and

Henry Colman came in here after meeting. Henry Colman was the one too many, and we wished him to Joppa as we wanted to discuss the times, but he was in the way.

Monday I did not go out. All here almost sick with colds. E. Quincy took tea here and he appeared to put the Clericals at defiance . . . I found Maria with a letter from Harriet Martineau in her hand, the purport of which must be *told* you. It would take too long to write it. We all went to the city meeting. Phillips was lecturing before the colored people . . . Adieu for the present. I thought it best to have these notes down.

The Reverend Nathaniel Colver, Baptist minister, and John A. Collins mentioned in this letter in close proximity, must not be confused for they were at opposite poles in this period of tension. Colver was one of the "plotters" against the *Liberator*; John A. Collins, on the other hand, was instrumental in exposing the "clerical plot," and left Andover Seminary to work for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as its General Agent. Indeed, the two men continued in opposition, for when Collins was sent to England in December 1840, Colver, in a letter to a London committee, tried to undermine his influence. W. Phillips was of course Wendell Phillips, one of the most eloquent leaders of the abolitionists. The son of a Mayor of Boston, a Harvard graduate and a member of the Suffolk bar, he married Ann Terry Greene who, being an orphan, had lived with Mrs. Chapman and become imbued with a zealous anti-slavery spirit.

Dr. Charles (or Karl Theodor Christian) Follen was a brilliant scholar who, having taken part in liberal movements in Prussia, came to the United States in 1824. After lecturing on ethics and history at the Harvard Divinity School, he became, in 1830, the first professor of German literature at Harvard. In 1828 he married Eliza Lee Cabot, and together they were devoted laborers in the abolition cause. His reform activities cost him the renewal of his professorship, after which he was influential as lecturer and minister. In 1840 he was drowned from the burning steamer *Lexington* in Long Island Sound.

Anne continues another day:

Wednesday. 12 o'clock. As Debora has concluded not to come till Saturday I feel as though I must say a word or two about H. Martineau's letter. She has written to tell Maria that a long ar-

ticle of hers (H.M.'s) will appear in the next Westminster Review; that in it she has quoted part of a letter of Maria's without giving the name. But by what she says, I judge that she has entered very fully into Maria for she says she hopes Henry and Maria will not be offended. Her letter is a very interesting one, and when Deborah comes she can bring it, but it is so precious that it cannot come without a keeper.

Maria has written to Peabody Rogers this morning to ask him to come to the rescue at the Annual meeting. The blow has been struck! The Worcester A.S. Soc. have passed a vote at their recent meeting that another paper is called for. You will see about it in the next Liberator. Garrison I think will blow a blast. I do not wonder that you feel suspicious of Pratt. I believe pretty much everybody *will go through*. But we will wait patiently. At our Female meeting this afternoon I shall move that our Society renew their subscription for 50 copies of the Liberator. We shall see what our peelers will do.

I have had a letter from Mary Grew explaining that it was not her fault that the part in our Report of the women's convention was left out. I am amused at Mr. Perkins' Salem letter. If there *are* any good men and true in Weymouth you must see that they come up to the Annual meeting, have all you can . .

With best love to all, yours ever

AW.W.

Peabody Rogers probably was Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, editor of a New Hampshire paper *The Herald of Freedom*, who contributed letters to the Liberator at this time. Mary Grew was an active abolitionist of Philadelphia. The mention of a Mr. Perkins undoubtedly refers to the Reverend Jonas Perkins of Weymouth, a signer of the Clerical Appeal.

Dear Aunt Mary,

I was so sick on Saturday that I was unable to write you more than a few lines, and those few, I suppose were so mystified that you could hardly make them out. I mean to begin again just as if I had not written at all . . . Our Quarterly Meeting took place in the afternoon. It was a tolerably full meeting as much so as usual. *Miss Sullivan was not there*. Two letters were read from Mrs. Ordway to friends in England, in Taunton and elsewhere. I almost dropped on to the floor when they were read. There was no *peel* about them, but they were so incurable vulgar, so miserably written and altogether so much the production of an uneducated person that I really felt ashamed to have them sent. Ask me to tell you about them when I see you. I, of course, was obliged to vote that they be sent.

As you know Mrs. Ordway took Maria's place. After that was over, Miss Ball voted or moved that "this Society do hold a Fair during this year and that they resolve to raise the sum of \$1200." As soon as that was over I offered the Resolution that we take 50 copies of the *Liberator* the ensuing year. Miss Gould, Mrs. Shipley and one other woman spoke against it, particularly Miss Gould spoke with much spite, asking if it was constitutional for us to take the *Liberator*. Maria made a very good speech and so did Mrs. Johnson. I kept up a little running fire and Mrs. E. R. Davis, the coloured peeler spoke up like a woman, on behalf of the coloured folks in defence of the *Liberator*. Mrs. Philbrick modestly stated that she could not conscientiously contribute to the funds of a society that could not take the *Liberator*. Mary Parker and Lucy Ball opposed as far as they could without actually taking opposing ground. They hinted that they had not money enough in the Treasury and in short they poured cold water. Not more than 5 voted against the *Liberator*. It evidently counfounded the peelers. No special business was done after that . . .

The battle wages more than ever round the *Liberator* and in that all Israel seems scattered on the mountains. Garrison called here this morning behaving very well . . . I send to you all Nicholas Nickleby which you must send in by Thursday somehow. Find time to read it, it is so amusing.

I am going to the State House this afternoon to hear Eliot Cresson argue before the Legislature about the African slave trade!

Yours in haste, Anne

The following letters were written from Groton, where Anne W. Weston was visiting in the home of Dr. Amos Farnsworth:

Groton, Jan. 31, 1839.

Dearest Deborah,

My ink is so dreadful that I hardly can bear to put pen to paper about anything; but for love of you I will try to make out a sheet. The Doctor and I had a very cosy time on Saturday. We talked over matters and things and I had the satisfaction of finding him as true as ever. He only felt as if a very false move had been made when the little paper had been given up and he will persist in saying that the new paper folks may yet get the ground.

We dined at dear Dr. Coudry's . . . Dr. C. was not in when we arrived, but his wife received us with the utmost hospitality. She is as true as steel and full of the genuine article as to spirits. Mr. Hale rioted and revelled over the recent triumph and repeatedly declared that he "felt" well. A most charming tea dinner was set before us and as there was no meat or vegetables on the table, I asked no questions for conscience's sake but eat of the mince pie

as I saw good.

Before we left Dr. Coudry came. He was in the same state of mind as when I met him in Boston. He had not been able to stay till the meeting was over, but he rejoiced in what he had seen. He acknowledged that he hissed St. Clair, and said he, "I'm glad I did. Garrison talked to us a little for it, which I approved. It looked very well in him."

After we left Acton it rained considerably, but the wind was in such a direction that we were wet but very little. Miss Stratton received me very kindly. All the Dr. [s] housekeepers are cut out of the same model, kind, neat, trusty sort of people, just enough pinned to the ministry to be shocked considerably at his talk. Thank the stars, however, Miss S. has not as yet claimed any sympathy at my hands . . .

I did not go to meeting Sunday morning, but did so in the afternoon and sat there while Dudley Phelps [a minister in Groton] preached, for I could hardly say I heard him . . .

On Tuesday afternoon Wendell [Phillips] arrived from Townsend. He had lectured there the night before and had a small audience only 75, but most of them were legal voters . . . Wendell made himself very agreeable during the afternoon and at dusk he and the Dr. went by special invitation to take tea with young Dr. Bancroft, who had been a classmate of Wendell's. There was a large audience for Groton and Wendell lectured beautifully. Parts of his address were charming, oh I do love Wendell. After the lecture Luther Bowtell called and we sat up till near midnight having a good talk. The next morning Messrs Hale and Bancroft called upon Mr. and Mrs. Rugg or me. Wendell made himself very delightful, was greatly admired by all and at 3 P.M. started for Acton where he was that night to lecture . . .

Then follow remarks about a mystifying "jug" — which stood, in family jargon, for Harriet Martineau's article "The Martyr Age of the United States," published in the *London and Westminster Review* for December 1838. It was a jug from which eulogies were poured!

This morning open your eyes wide — arrived *The jug!* I trembled so I could hardly open it. Perhaps ere this you will have read it. If not, I will merely say it reviews the Rights and Wrongs. That is the title of the piece. Maria and Henry get their dues and there is not *much* about them distressing to my feeling. Maria's beauty is highly extolled. Garrison gets a jug of the largest size and [Ellis Gray Loring] Ellis comes in for a fair share. L. Tappan has a pint stoup and so on, but as you will see it so soon I need say no more. It is a fine stirring article, only too much adulation

of Dr. Channing. There are not more mistakes than I should have expected and they are not very material ones. The worst and the principal thing I am sorry for is where Garrison is represented as turning pale at sight of Dr. Channing. What our worthy uncle will say I know not . . .

The letter was long enough, yet a few days later Miss Weston wanted to continue. Apparently she did not have writing paper at hand; so she used the already filled sheets, writing across the lines. She had something important to say about Margaret Fuller, who, as is well known, had lived for two or three years at Groton, and who evidently visited there with friends afterwards. She happened to be in Groton just then, staying with the Fullers. There Miss Weston met her.

Margaret Fuller did not take an active part in the anti-slavery movement. As she was to explain to Mrs. Chapman a little later (in a letter of December 2, 1840), the abolition cause commanded her respect: "Yet my own path," she wrote, "leads a different course and often leaves me quite ignorant what you are doing. Very probably to one whose heart is so engaged as yours in particular measures this indifference will seem incredible or even culpable. But if indifferent I have not been intolerant; I have wronged none of you by a hasty judgment or careless words, and, where I have not investigated a case so as to be sure of my own opinion, have, at least, never chimed in with the popular hue and cry. I have always wished that efforts originating in a generous sympathy, or a sense of right should have fair play, have had firm faith that they must, in some way, produce eventual good."

Here is Miss Weston's account of their meeting:

Sunday evening. Your letter came today . . . Friday I returned Miss Butler's call, and as I learned there that M. Fuller was ill and did not go out on Saturday morning I determined to put my etiquette aside and go and see her. The Dr. [Dr. Amos Farnsworth] carried me over there and I made a long and very delightful call. Margaret was not so very ill, and was very conversible and agreeable. She read me part of a letter she had received a few weeks ago from H. Martineau, the most interesting part of which was that Ailsie, the little coloured girl mentioned in the 1st volume of the *Retrospect*, who lived in N. Orleans has been sent to her by her master. You may remember she spoke of the gentleman's wife with such interest, and he after reading the book took this step. Harriet is

going to adopt her and bring her up with every advantage. Isn't it good? She spoke to Margaret of her novel and said the whole plan was in her head and one vol. written; that only one friend in whose knowledge of fiction she greatly confided had seen it; that she did not even shew it to her dear brother James; that so much had been expected from her in this novel that her friends felt uneasy, but that she herself did not feel very bad even if she failed. One thing she knew, she had done the very best she could.

She alluded to her article in the Westminster as an important one, but entered into no particulars. Margaret spoke of it in such a manner that I was in conscience obliged to tell her that I had seen the article. She enquired about it and I told her as well as I could that it was a fine one, though as personal friends of mine were mentioned it was trying to my feelings. She spoke with much warmth of Harriet's personalities and publicities, and said that the publication of Society in America had lowered her in her mind and as Harriet had asked her opinion of the book she had told her so. Margaret invited me to pass Monday evening with her which I shall do.

Miss Weston could not stop even after this excursion. So she wrote on:

I think that I shall go home in little more than a week, but as something may prevent I exhort you to write. I congratulate you again on your good treatment and hope it may last. I *cannot* suspect Aunt Sally of clericalism, but I do think it a little odd that they should prefer temperance to Anti-Slavery . . .

The other day the Dr. had a letter from Chaplin in which Chaplin says that Gerrit Smith has had a letter a few weeks previous from A. A. Phelps, proposing to form a new political party, but that the proposition had met with no favor save from Alvan Stewart who seems universally suspected of having a desire for public life. Leavitt has come out very cunningly in the Emancipator . . .

I am not sure that Maria has not sent you the jug, therefore will not send same; I will however copy what she says about Maria and then have done. "Maria Weston was educated in England and might have remained here in the enjoyment of wealth, luxury, and fashion," and so she goes on for a few sentences and then says "She is a woman of rare intellectual accomplishment, full of reading, and with strong and well exercised powers of thought. She is beautiful as the day, tall in her person and noble in her carriage, with a voice as clear as a silver bell and speech as clear and sparkling as a summer brook." Henry gets his dues likewise. Maria's extraordinary beauty is spoken of in two other places. This is news to me but thank fortune the statement can't be charged to Miss M. as lies. She has a right to her opinion.

Give me all manner of particulars when you write. I will supply you with all the excitement I can, but I for one have had enough . . . Give my love to all whom I know in N.B. [New Bedford] and if Mrs. Howland writes me properly, by and bye I'll come and see you. Mary sends her love to you. The Dr. will insist upon it that Clericalism will be victorious.

Yours ever, Anne

Boston, Feb. 23, 1839

I dispatched a letter to you, my dear Deborah, this afternoon by the way of Weymouth. Dr. Follen called this morning and was very agreeable. He is on the Mass. Board in place of Colver. His article on Peace is to appear in the March No. of the Democratic Review. But O'Sullivan has written to the Dr that he has left out all the Bible argument of the article and also softened down some objections that seem to have a bearing on the slavery question. This the Dr. did not like. Mr. O'S. kindly and modestly proposes that the Abolitionists should disband their Societies and come individually to the South and petition the Legislatures; to be sure they very likely would a few of them lose their lives, but still it would do good.

I forgot to say that Caroline had yesterday a letter from Lucretia. She says she shall be with us in 3 months and appears very glad of that same. She is at Cherry Grove. The Governor is going to put his children out to school; he frequently wishes he never had had them which is to say the least, candid.

The Lucretia mentioned was Lucretia Cowing, a cousin of the Westons, who was at the time tutor in the family of the Governor of Maryland, where she, as abolitionist, heard strange tales about her friends and kin. In the letter that Anne refers to, which is in the Boston Public Library, Miss Cowing reports that her pupils are "two of the most stupid children" that she ever saw. Miss Weston continued:

This afternoon a Board meeting was held to take New York over the coals. Some of the Board did not seem to come up to the work as they might have done. Ellis [Ellis Gray Loring] and Sam [Samuel Sewall] for instance; but it is to be hoped they do not understand the state of the case. St. Clair has resigned his agency which resignation has been accepted. Probably he will not labour for New York. It has been said that Codding is coming here.

Have you seen the Human Rights extra. It contains a statement that the \$500 of the Boston Female was given to the National on the condition that Stanton should address the Society or something of that sort, when the fact was that the speech of Stanton's

as you well remember was made before *any* vote had been made by the Society. The circular in the Human Rights is dated the 11th Nov., though our Ambassadors were in New York the 19 and probably this circular was printed at the time not a word was said by the Committee intimating that they *had taken* the final step. On the contrary they tried to keep them longer waiting all they could. Henry upbraided Stanton with all these things and he was rather confused.

February 25. Saturday evening Maria called at Ellis' to try to put him straiter. She partially succeeded. Caroline spent the evening at Garrison's. She there learned what you must for the present confine to your own bosom, namely that G. Smith is very friendly to non-resistance. We really feel alarmed lest there should not a single fighting man be left to us, for Collins is a non-resistant. The little piece signed Consistency in the last paper was by Orange Scott.

In case that there should be any curiosity about the little piece, dated February 8, but printed in the *Liberator* for February 22, 1839, it shall be given here :

"Can you tell us, why our friends St. Clair and Stanton *dodged the question*, when the vote was taken by yeas and nays to adopt the annual report? Were they taken unwell *just at that time*? Or were they obliged to go for their dinners? I believe they were both in the house when it was decided to take the question by yeas and nays.

"I am sorry to see any *dodging* in the anti-slavery ranks — there is quite enough of it in Congress."

Miss Weston's letter continues :

Sunday morning I went to the Free Church and heard Torrey. He is a miserable preacher. I dined at Chauncy Pl. In the afternoon Mary and I went to Bro Himes'. Edmund [Quincy] took tea with us. He looks delicate, but is better. He has written a most beautiful letter begging for the N. R. cause. It is a lovely letter. I will send it you when lithographed.

I shall stay in town this week as there is some prospect of our Society's holding a meeting. Your letters by Isaac have just come. I will carry them out to Roxbury this afternoon, but I must say you ought to see that proposals are more definite if you expect them to be settled at any definite time. The question of *the salary* is the thing. You are not quite apt enough to pin things. But C. must do as she thinks best in the premises. As to the disposal of the little papers, I advise you to distribute them among *safe people* such as Ann M. Bailey, Mary Congden, etc. Has the new paper

obtained any subscribers there? Labour incessantly, *leave no stone unturned*. "Dont simper" Maria says "but be *very explicit*."

If N. Y. or anybody else comes on and gets a few hundred out of Andrew Robeson [a rich philanthropist in New Bedford], we shall require it at your hands. Maria wants to know how you think it would answer for her to come down to New Bedford and stay 2 days at Mrs. Howland's in order to see Andrew, and to collect pledges and set things strait, etc? . . . Your Liberator *shall* come next Saturday as also Mr. Howland's . . .

We have seen nothing of Hildreth [probably Richard Hildreth, historian and author of *Archy Moore*, the first anti-slavery novel]. I suppose he is still at Cape Ann . . . I had seen the little paper about Thompson in the Atlas; but the New York paper has omitted all that was favorable. The correspondent goes on to remark that Thompson was thought in England to be a man of the greatest eloquence, that Lord Brougham thought very highly of him, etc.

Yours ever Anne

Maria has called this afternoon upon the Garrison's. Mrs. Garrison told Maria that she had become convinced of M.S.P.'s utter baseness. That she is falseness personified. She thinks that it was Bro. P. who made her sign the protest.

The mysterious initials in the postscript undoubtedly refer to the departure from pure Garrisonianism of Mary S. Parker (who presided so nobly over the Female Anti-Slavery Society at the time of the mob) and to Brother Amos A. Phelps as her evil spirit.

The three letters that follow are from Maria Weston Chapman. Each is addressed to her younger sister Deborah, and each is full of militant zeal. The first contains her instructions about a forthcoming meeting — and instructions they were, no less:

March 14, 1839

Dear Debora,

A package of handbills for calling a meeting of the N. Bedford County have been sent to John French. Do follow them up with your personal labours, and see to it that 5 important particulars are attended to at the meeting. 1st an expression of opinion against the New York brethren's course. 2nd against the new paper as part and parcel of the same movement. 3rd recommendation of the *newest* paper as an auxiliary to those who *cannot afford the Liberator*. 4th recent proceedings of the Legislature. 5th Delegation to the quarterly Mass. Meeting.

Let it be large — *very* large. Let everything that hath breath

speak. Throng up in full strength. Great preparations are making for the entertainment of the delegates free of expense. Let it be so stated in the Meeting. Let it also be proclaimed that money cannot be better expended in the cause at this crisis than in the pay't of travelling expenses. Let the resolution about the New York business run thus. Resolved that "we are surprised and pained at the rash, unkind and unbrotherly course taken by the ex. com. of the Am. Soc." and most heartily approve and sustain the spirited and judicious course of the Mass.

What I have italicised is an extract from a letter of Gerritt Smith to myself. He adds, "the temper of the address of the Mass. board is good." Anne is at Weymouth. We have sent in a petition on the colour-question. Bradburn tells me our names are to be printed. May is in town — Shilly Shally. I wish he could but believe men will sometimes lie. Dear bro. Collins is invaluable. He is the gen'l agent. No news that I can learn. Mr. Stone wants to meet Garrison. Which I am going to bring about by inviting them together.

See to all my five points.

Yours faithfully
Maria W. Chapman

Money was an ever-present need. So Mrs. Chapman thought of arranging a fair, requesting her sister to mobilize all their friends. She and "hers" were ready to contribute a hundred dollars at least toward the support of a new paper, subsidiary to the *Liberator*:

April 4th, 1839

Dear Debora

A new plan and that in consequence of the venomous "Abolitionist" showing its teeth. It must be put down or it will put down the Mass. Soc. It can only be put down by sending out agents for the Cradle. Phelps is drumming round in Amherst and Providence to get students to get subscribers for it. He has got Foster of Andover out. All energies are bent upon that. We must counteract them. If we had \$500 we could do it.

We have racked our brains and after everything else had been thought of a light broke in upon us from New Bedford. A Fair! You and Susan Taber, and Mary Congan, and Mary Anna Bailey, etc., etc. must get it up the 1st of June or so. Let it be a private concern, so that you can dispose of the money as you please. *Call* it "for the cause — make your medium of aiding the cause," the Cradle. You may expect \$100 *certainly*, perhaps more, from me and mine. Nothing could have so happy an effect. We could send these good lectures of Goodell's all over the state by employing

an effective agent a year. Try it — try it. Let me know as soon as possible what the friends say, for the money *must* be had; it is the pinch of the game. And if this doesn't take we must beat our brains over again. But which way to turn next I know not if this fails. Consider every subscriber counts *twice* — a gain to us, a loss to them.

Yours as you behave
M. W. Chapman

All that I have written is at your service to tell the ladies you speak to.

The third letter, written on December 6, 1839, was filled with the same fervor for the anti-slavery cause. Mrs. Chapman wrote, among others:

. . . Oh If I could have one hour's talk with Andrew Robeson! Having thrown *all* into the cause myself — "Life honour name and all" — I should feel free to appeal to the nobleness that I know from so many, as well as from my own slight experience, is in him, for a thousand dollars. Here at last is the Mass. Soc. in a state of true Freedom, and therefore it is in a state to prevail mightily against slavery if it were strongly sustained. The chaff has blown away in the recent storm — the cowardly have shrunk away from the brave, the traitor from the true. Its connection with the Liberator is just what it should be — one of Love and Freedom, not money. It is responsible for nothing but its own documents, and it gets them before the publick without being loaded with that old-fashioned, encumbering machine — an organ. It is its *own* musician, and maintains no idle supernumeraries to blow the bellows. It is above *puffing*.

I could so plead with him! — no pleader like an unpaid one. He would see, better than I or anyone could show, if his immense business gave him time to do so, how much may be done by a laborious few to annihilate the burden we have received from our fathers, so that it shall not sit heavy upon our children . . .

"Let us strike manful and womanful," she ended her letter, "for justice and freedom, and we save our posterity from anarchy and blood. Better than fortune is the inheritance of joy and peace I hope to leave to mine . . ." She was thirty-three years old. Before her lay nearly a half century of struggle for her noble ideas.

Joseph Conrad



"Joseph Conrad Listening to Music"
An Etching by Muirhead Bone (Reduced)

States of Prints

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE collection in the Print Department was conceived from the very beginning by the late Mr. Albert H. Wiggin as one of educational value; and it is, accordingly, a unique assemblage of the works of famous print-makers nowhere else available for such study purposes. It is unsurpassed in progressive states and trial proofs supplementing the final published impressions. The current exhibition in the Wiggin Gallery is especially planned to aid the layman, student, and collector to a greater appreciation and understanding of print-making.

Attention should be called to the first and eighth states and the original copper-plate of Alphonse Legros' "Procession dans une Eglise Espagnole." They were selected from the complete collection of the artist's work, some eighteen hundred prints and drawings, comprising every known variant. Other French masters are represented with two or more proofs. There are several superb examples of Toulouse-Lautrec's "The Jockey" in black and white and in color; three interpretations in color lithography and a key-stone in sepia of "Mme. Marcelle Lender en Buste"; and three states of "Carnot Malade" before and after letters. The early and late techniques of Jacques Villon, whose work is in great demand at present in Paris, are shown in the first and second states of his color print "Nevers à Paris" and his etching "Les Holeurs." Chosen from Fantin-Latour's own collection in the Boston Public Library are two magnificent developments for the "Finale du Rheingold," inspired by Richard Wagner's opera. His inventive handling of the lithographic stone greatly influenced the French impressionists and lithographers of this day.

It is always interesting to study the progress of Félix Buhot's work for his unorthodox manner in the use of a combination of mediums. His plates usually start out as etchings, but, in carrying the plate further, he employs aquatint, sulphur tint, roulette, soft-ground and sometimes dry-point. Two excellent

examples are "L'Hiver à Paris ou La Neige à Paris" and "La Place Pigalle en 1878."

Few artists have made closer observation in etching and dry-point of the emotions pertaining to religious subjects than Jean-Louis Forain. One can really appreciate his work only by knowing the first states of his plates. The changes of his mind are revealed in the first and second states of "Le Route d'Emmaus." His heavily-bitten crossed lines produce amazing effects of mass, contour, and solidity.

Michel Ciry's aim becomes clear in the seven states of his study of "St. Sébastien." The strong head with firm, sensitive features fully expresses the artist's interest in solidly drawn planes. Each state has a straightforward attack, with changes in heavy strokes that give substance to the final theme.

No representation of English prints would be complete without the work of Muirhead Bone. His position as a master of dry-point is unrivalled. The first and second states of his wonderful plates "Leeds" have been chosen to illustrate his development. Accompanying them are two states each of his great portraits "Conrad Listening to Music" and "Rabindranath Tagore."

Visitors who have enjoyed previous exhibitions of the prints of James McBey will have a splendid opportunity to enjoy again his work in an early state of "A Venetian Night." John Copley's lithograph "Opera" demonstrates that the best results are obtainable only in a lithograph pulled from the stone by the artist himself. The numerous technical problems may be studied in the experimental states of this large composition.

Whistler heads the American group with his third and fourth states of "The Traghetto," one of the Venetian plates which include "The Beggars," "The Doorway," "Little Lagoon," "The Palaces," and "Bead Stringers," all present in fine impressions in the Boston Public Library. It is interesting to observe the masterly way the artist renders the mass of detail in short strokes of the needle, producing deep and warm tones with an extraordinary play of vibrant light and dark.

In her dry-points and aquatints Mary Cassatt achieves an unusual decorative effect by her delicate tones of color, heightened by the black lines which carry the composition. The

making of a chiaroscuro print is ably demonstrated by Thomas W. Nason and Herbert Waters. Nason, one of the foremost American wood-engravers, is represented by his "Summer Storm." The print was produced in five progressive states by three blocks. Waters gives us a simplified version of chiaroscuro handling in the two stages of the key block and the tonal block; they register beautifully, and combine to record his most successful subject, "Winter Night."

Four states of the experimental lithograph "Prayer" by Ture Bengtz show the little-employed method of working the stone from black to white. Light and shade are developed by burning out the lighter planes with acid and controlling the drawing by scraping and scratching-out in the more detailed areas; the stone is then carried further with added work in crayon and tusche. The result is rich in extreme color values producing a sculptural solidity and a feeling of third dimension.

Three states of the writer's Swiss plate "Valaisan" complete this exhibition.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

An Unpublished Emma Lazarus Letter

RECENTLY the writer acquired a copy of *The Poems* of Emma Lazarus, published in 1889 in Boston, which once belonged to Edmund Clarence Stedman, the critic and anthologist. Affixed to the inside cover of the first volume is a letter from Emma Lazarus to Stedman, in which she briefly reveals her attitude toward her own work, and especially toward that of Annie Fields, wife of James T. Fields.

The letter is undated, but a notation reads "Dec. 80" — a time when Stedman knew her well. Here is the letter:

34 East 57th St.
Monday.

My dear Mr. Stedman,

I return with many thanks Mrs. Fields' poems. They seem to me very sweet, graceful & delicate, but what you say about their resemblance to my own work, confirms me more than ever in the opinion I have long held of my verses — that they are not of the slightest value or importance to the world. Here is a woman who takes the same interest that I take in purely poetic & classical thoughts, & evidently has the same desire to refine her thought & to rid her mind of everything prosaic & trivial — & what does she accomplish. Nothing to stir, to awaken, to teach or to suggest, nothing that the world could not equally well do without!

I was sorry to leave you so abruptly on Saturday — as it was, I got home late to dinner, 'should not have stayed at the Hollands as long as I did. I wish you would please tell Mrs. Stedman for me, how lovely I thought she was to me, & how much I appreciated her kindness. I was only afraid she felt me a great burden upon her hands — but she was very sweet, & made me really enjoy my afternoon. With kindest regards to her & to yourself,

Sincerely yours
Emma Lazarus

In a laudatory essay, "Emma Lazarus," Stedman quoted an excerpt from this letter, but unfortunately out of context. What she wrote about Mrs. Fields's verse he used to illustrate her opinion of her own poems. The following passage shows how he handled the quotation:

One evening she confided to me her feeling of despondency as to her poetic work; a belief that, with all her passion for beauty and justice, she "had accomplished nothing to stir, nothing to awaken, to teach or to suggest, nothing that the world could not equally well do without." These very words I take from a letter received from her in the same week, and they are the substance of what she had spoken.*

Emma Lazarus's remarks about Annie Fields's verse apparently stemmed from a comment Stedman had previously made about a resemblance in their work. In the light of the evident inferiority of Mrs. Fields's verse to the poetry of Miss Lazarus, it is easy to see why the latter might have been upset by Stedman's observation. It was no compliment to her to compare her vigorous poetry to the "very sweet, graceful & delicate" poems of Mrs. Fields.

SAMUEL A. GOLDEN

* Edmund Clarence Stedman, "Emma Lazarus" in *Genius And Other Essays* (New York, 1911), 265-66.

The Reception of *Daisy Miller*

AT the time of its publication Henry James's *Daisy Miller*, according to literary tradition, was not well received by the American critics. The author is supposed to have been reviled by his countrymen for his unflattering portrait of the American girl.¹ Modern scholars have wondered why there should have been such a reaction to what is really a sympathetic portrayal of Daisy, but no one, in print at least, has questioned the validity of the tradition. Richard Foley, in his study of the reception given to James's works in American periodicals, noted that though "the magazines reported . . . *Daisy Miller* had been objected to on the grounds that it maligned the American young lady, it was well received by those [magazines] examined."² The discrepancy between the reports by the magazine writers and their own favorable comments has been generally ignored, probably because several months after the appearance of *Daisy Miller* a brief discussion of its reception (attributed to William Dean Howells) in the "Contributors Club" of the *Atlantic Monthly* included quotations from "some critical experts" who regarded the tale as "servilely snobbish" and "brutally unpatriotic."³

Who these "critical experts" were and in what publications they made such statements is a mystery. A search through the literary periodicals of the period has revealed no statement about the novel that even approximates the tone of these quotations. On the contrary, the tale was very well received. No critic questioned James's patriotism or accused him of snobbishness. Only one reviewer wondered if Daisy had been intended to represent the typical American girl:

If the anomalous mother and daughter who are the chief figures in Mr. James's *Daisy Miller* were seriously presented by him as typical representatives of our country-women — while admitting that such a mother and daughter are as much within the range of possibility as the Siamese twins and has as equitable a title to be set up as types — we should affirm that they have not enough of general or special resemblance to any really existent class to lend probability to caricature. It is obvious, however, that Mr. James had no such purpose in this brilliant and graceful trifle.⁴

No writer in an American periodical provided the "Contributor's Club" commentator with his quotations, nor did the reviewers in the New York or Boston newspapers. The only New York journal that printed a full-length review of the novel was the *New York Times*, and that was laudatory. In Boston, where the novel was first published, it produced almost no reaction in the daily or weekly newspapers. The Boston *Evening Transcript* usually devoted a full column or two to book reviews; on the day James's tale was listed under "Books Received" there were reviews of several other works mentioned, including a Grocer's manual, a Latin grammar, and a book on ornithology. The Boston *Post* on November 11, 1878, offered the most elaborate review:

Daisy Miller is a bright little story, an *affaire du coeur*. The scene of the story is laid in Switzerland — in Vevey, in fact, one of the most charming retreats that skirt the shore of Lake Lemman. It is an entertaining little tale of what befell two hearts in that far-off country, and one may while away a half hour with pleasure and no harm done.

It is possible that in the "Contributor's Club" passage Howells was quoting oral criticism; the following month, however, the same column made specific reference to published criticism:

To read the silly criticisms which have been printed, and the far sillier ones which are every day uttered . . . would almost

convince us that we are as provincial as ever in our sensitiveness to foreign opinion. It is actually regarded as a species of unpardonable incivism for Mr. James, because he lives in London, to describe an underbred American family . . .⁵

There is no ambiguity in these lines: James has been attacked by American critics; but by whom and in what publication, Howells did not say. None of the other magazine writers who corroborate the statement is specific either. In the "Our Monthly Gossip" column of *Lippincott's Magazine* (October, 1879), the writer maintains that two novels "*The Story of Avis* and *Daisy Miller* are in much greater demand [by magazine editors] in consequence of the severity of a few reviewers in dealing with them."⁶ The *Nation's* critic, reviewing the book a month after publication, wrote: "Certainly no American book of its size has been so much read and so much discussed, as far as our memory runs back." And the critic in the *Century* declared that the novel was

. . . much criticised in the United States for the uncomplimentary character of its heroine . . . The character is denounced as exaggerated in the extreme, and only applicable to Americans in Europe who are the scandal and terror of their fellow-travelers.⁷

Yet neither the *Nation* nor the *Century* critic mentions printed criticism. Howells, in a letter to James Russell Lowell on June 22, 1879, describes the reaction to the novel as a "vast discussion in which nobody felt very deeply, and everybody talked very loudly. The thing went so far that society almost divided itself in Daisy Millerites and anti-Daisy Millerites."⁸ It is a social rather than a critical controversy that Howells presents in this letter. Had there been so vigorous a literary attack upon James as the "Contributor's Club" passages indicate, surely there would have been some mention of it in the literary gossip sections of the periodicals. But neither the *Literary World* with its "Literary Table Talk" nor the *Outlook* with its "Literary Notes" referred to any controversy over *Daisy Miller*.

The New York and Boston newspapers, too, failed to make any reference to an attack upon James or his novel. The New York papers reflected instead a developing popular interest in the novelist. He was spoken of frequently in the "personal" and "literature" columns during the first few months of 1879, and on June 4 of that year the *New York Times* carried on its editorial page a discussion of the international social problem which mentioned the resentment aroused by *Daisy Miller*: "There are many ladies in and

around New York to-day who feel very indignant with Mr. James for his portrait of Daisy Miller, and declare that it is shameful to give foreigners so untrue a portrait of an American girl."

The evidence, therefore, is that *Daisy Miller* perturbed many readers, particularly women, but not the critics. In comparison to the manner in which James's biography of Hawthorne was received, the reception of the story was excellent. In 1880, sparked by George Lathrop's denunciation, a number of American authors accused James of being unpatriotic; and many editorial writers pounced upon him for his "unAmerican" attitude. It is possible that the receptions given these two works have, over the years, become confused.

In his letter to Lowell, Howells declared that he was pleased with the furor *Daisy Miller* had created, because in "making James so thoroughly known, it would call attention in a wide degree to the beautiful work he has been doing so long for very few readers and still fewer lovers." He may have been primed for trouble, long before the tale's publication in book form. In his preface to the novel in the New York edition, James stated that he had originally submitted the story to a Philadelphia magazine (*Lippincott's*), the editor of which (John Foster Kirk) had promptly returned it without comment. Puzzled, he appealed to a friend "for light, giving him the thing to read." The friend "declared that it could only have passed with the Philadelphia critic for 'an outrage on American girlhood.'"⁹ There is nothing to prove that Howells was that friend, but if he was, or even if he had been informed by James of the incident, he would have been ready to defend the novel against expected attacks.

There is another possible solution to the mystery: that a mid-western or western newspaper has provided Howells with the quotations he used. But even if such a review were discovered, the tradition that *Daisy Miller* received a poor critical reception in the United States is obviously untrue.

EDMOND L. VOLPE

Notes

1. See, for example, Elizabeth Hoxie, "Mrs. Grundy Adopts Daisy Miller," *New England Quarterly*, December 1946, 474-84; and Anna Leach, "Henry James: An Appreciation," *Forum*, May 1916, 551-64.

2. Richard Nicholas Foley, *Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1886 to 1916* (Washington, D. C., 1944), 16.
3. *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1879, 259.
4. "Editor's Literary Record," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, January 1879, 310.
5. *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1879, 399.
6. "Our Monthly Gossip," *Lippincott's Magazine*, October 1879, 513.
7. "Henry James's Daisy Miller," *The Century*, February 1879, 609.
8. *Life and Letters of William Dean Howells*, ed. Mildred Howells, New York 1928, 271.
9. Henry James, *The Art of the Novel*, New York 1950, 268.

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Contributors to this Issue

"THE WESTON SISTERS AND 'THE BOSTON CONTROVERSY'" and a few other articles to be printed were prepared by the late Miss Margaret Munsterberg shortly before she died last September. Readers will miss her contributions which have appeared regularly in this *Quarterly* and its predecessor *More Books* during the thirty years of her association with the Library. Infinitely painstaking in her scholarly research, she also endowed her writings with a quiet charm, the philosophy of a humanist.

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THE
Boston Public Library
QUARTERLY

Volume 10, Number 2

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

APRIL 1958

The Library's First Folio of Shakespeare

The Barton Collection, which the Boston Public Library acquired in 1873, is justly famous for its great wealth in first and rare editions of English literature. The Shakespearean section is especially rich, numbering thousands of volumes and including the four folio editions as well as many of the earliest quartos. The jewel of the Collection is, of course, the First Folio — *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* — published in 1623, seven years after the dramatist's death.

The First Folio is not one of the "rarest" books; in England and America there exist more than two hundred copies, although only fourteen are in perfect condition. Yet, next to the Bay Psalm Book, the First Folio of Shakespeare commands the highest price among all books printed in the English language. Most of the best copies have been closely described and listed according to their state; and one may note with pleasure that the Library's copy is considered one of the best.

In 1860 Thomas Pennant Barton, who had brought together his library with infinite care and was a learned bibliographer, issued an account of his volume under the title *Description of a Copy of the First Folio Edition of the Plays of Shakespeare Now in the Collection of T. P. Barton*. The essay, written in the third person and unsigned, was printed in twenty copies only; few people, even close students of Shakespeare, have had a chance to read it. It seems, therefore, desirable to reprint it and thus make it widely available. (Z. H.)

THIS copy was obtained from Mr. Thomas Rodd, of London, bookseller, in the year 1845. It is mentioned, but without description or price, in a portion of his catalogue for that year, entitled "Shakespeariana. A list of an extensive collection of the Works of Shakespeare, including some of great curiosity and interest; also of the various detached Biographical and Critical Works illustrative of his Life and Writings. On sale, at the prices affixed, by Thomas Rodd, 9 Great Newport Street, London — (1845). 8vo. pp. 1-24." The number in the catalogue is 8127. Notwithstanding the fact of its appearance there, the copy had, from the first, been specially reserved for Mr. Barton; and it was soon after sent out to the United States, subject to his examination and approval, together with a large number of books from the same catalogue.

Before entering upon a minute description of the copy, it will be proper to give all those portions of Mr. Rodd's several letters which relate to it. These letters are three in number, and the passages are given word for word.

The first is dated October 13, 1845. In it, after stating that he has laid aside for Mr. Barton a number of works from the catalogue above-mentioned, Mr. Rodd writes —

And now you will naturally be impatient to hear about your first folio, and eagerly looking for the arrival of the vessel that is to bring it to your longing eyes and hands. In point of condition and size, I consider it as standing letter D in alphabetical arrangement of such copies as have fallen under my observation, about forty in all, perfect and imperfect. It came to me in old binding, but not the original, and being not only wrongly bound up*, but imperfect and all broken, there was positive necessity for its being re-bound. In doing this, however, I was very particular to see that it was not cut, nor any of the ink-marks or old stains removed. All that has been done is to make the book intirely complete, and pass it through sized water to strengthen the paper. It would have been easy to have had the ink and stains washed out, but independent of the strange unnatural appearance of a washed book, which loses all its natural brown tint, and becomes a deadly white thoroughly disgusting to the eye, I have great dread and horror of all washed books, having seen many of them crumble to pieces in the hand from the powerful acids employed. The binders all pretend that they can prevent this, but I am determined never to trust to them,

* For an explanation of this part of the letter, see the end of the article.

and would rather see a book black as the ground than after its undergoing the ordeal of their infernal wash-tubs and lies. Now, if you determine on sight of the book to keep it, for it is to be sent conditionally, it will be yours to do what you please with it, and if you choose to have it washed, you must take the risk on yourself. In stating that it is sent conditionally, I mean that you shall be at full liberty to return it should you think proper, nor shall I feel the least mortified or sorry at your so doing; but on the contrary add £10 more to the price, which is the next thing you will be anxious to hear about. It is £110 — a large price for a single volume, but nothing to what other volumes of far less interest produce. I will just add that no such copy in point of completeness and size has been sold by public auction for many years, and for a very fine one Mr. Pickering the bookseller gave four years since £150 — and sold it immediately at a considerable advance.

I mentioned that when it fell into my hands it was imperfect. The imperfections were and are of a singular nature, and paradoxical as it may appear add to the value of the book. They consist of two cancelled leaves, which by mistake the binder had retained in the book instead of those that were intended to replace them. I have retained the cancelled leaves, and added the deficient ones, so that the book now presents a singular curiosity, and such as I believe exists in no other copy.* The corrections in the leaves present very trifling alterations, but sufficient nevertheless to show that some slight attention was paid to the book whilst passing through the press, though probably not more than would be exercised by the ordinary reader in the printing-houses of the day. Now, as I have not perhaps here expressed myself quite clearly whilst writing of imperfections, to remove any shadow of doubt from your mind, I must distinctly be desired to be understood, that the book is most absolutely perfect of the genuine first edition, from the first leaf to the last, without any other addition or defalcation, than that of possessing the two cancelled leaves, as well as the two printed to supply their place. On the whole, I consider it a most desirable copy, and such an one as any collector may be proud to possess and to show.

* Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual*, p. 1645, says — "There is a copy of this edition (now in the possession of James Baker, Esq., of Kings Arms Yard, Coleman Street), which has in addition two cancelled leaves in the play of *As You Like It*." As this passage could not have escaped Mr. Rodd's notice, it is not improbable that Mr. Baker's copy and this may be one and the same. It is true that while the words of Lowndes are "in addition to," those of Rodd are "instead of"; but Lowndes was speaking of many copies, while Rodd's attention was confined to one. The play in which the cancelled leaves occur is the same in both. If this supposition should prove incorrect, it would follow that there are at least *two copies* with this peculiarity.

I shall send it off in the course of a few days, with the copy of the Gentleman's Magazine and some other articles, &c.

Mr. Barton having requested Mr. Rodd to be a little more explicit in relation to the *condition* of the volume, *as compared with other well known copies* of the same book, that gentleman, in a second letter, dated February 16, 1846, returned the following answer —

I am glad you are in possession of the first folio, and that you can appreciate the copy. By marking it letter D. I mean that it is about the fourth copy in point of size and condition of those that have come under my notice. I have a note of about forty, perfect and imperfect, and had I leisure I would print a list of all the existing copies, with collation and size of each. Those which rank before yours are —

A. Rt. Hon. T. Grenville (now in the British Museum).

B. George Daniel, Esq.

C. Lord Francis Egerton (the late Earl of Ellesmere).

The copy which was in Mr. Hibbert's library is very clean and fresh, but much cut, which is a great drawback from the beauty of a book. I have heard of other fine copies, but have not seen them.

After a very careful examination and collation of the volume, Mr. Barton, in one of his letters to Mr. Rodd, first calling that gentleman's attention to a passage in Lowndes, in which it is said that the *pagination* is not the same in all the copies, mentioned the fact that the present copy differs in that respect from the description given in the Bibliographer's Manual, in three several instances; and in one instance in the signature. He added — "but, taking into consideration the admitted fact that the copies vary, these differences cannot, I take for granted, be thought of any consequence." Mr. Rodd lost no time in answering this, for in his third and last letter, dated March 30, 1846, he wrote as follows —

On your Shakespeare of 1623 I pin my reputation Moral as well as Bibliographical. If you do not find it in every instance perfect and genuine, I will make you a present of the book, and will, in addition, forfeit ten pounds a leaf for every one that is not genuine.

After so emphatic a declaration from one of the best Shakespearian Bibliographers in England, the *thoroughly genuine* character of the volume throughout may be considered as es-

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



L O N D O N

Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

tablished beyond all dispute; and the four unimportant differences as compared with the collation in Lowndes can be regarded in no other light than as a matter of simple bibliographical curiosity. As the smallest circumstance, however, in connexion with a book of such rarity and literary interest as the First Folio Shakespeare, will always possess some value in the eyes of collectors, the slight differences which distinguish this copy are carefully noted.

IN the order of the plays and other matter; in the Signatures, Pagination, &c., the collation is in every respect identically the same as that given by Lowndes, with the following exceptions —

Pagination:

The Taming of the Shrew, p. 214 is printed correctly, and not misprinted 212.

All's Well that ends Well, p. 237 is printed correctly, and not, as "in some copies," misprinted 233.

The Life and Death of Richard the Second, p. 37 is printed correctly and not misprinted 39.

Signatures:

The Tempest to the Winter's Tale, signature V is printed correctly, and not misprinted Vv.

The above differences are irrespective of the *two cancelled leaves* mentioned in Mr. Rodd's letter, and which occur in the play of "As You Like It." On the first of these, the signature is R2 (instead of R), and the pagination is 203 (instead of 193). On the second (R6), *verso*, the pagination is 194 (instead of 204). After a careful examination of these leaves, no other variations have been discovered.

After the genuineness of the Text, the point next in importance is the *condition* of a book. In this respect also the volume has been subjected to the severest scrutiny, and every defect observed in it, however minute, has been carefully noted. The First Folio Shakespeare, whatever literary and bibliographical value it may possess, has never been regarded as a well printed book. Unfortunately, in addition to this disadvantage, almost every known copy of it is more or less disfigured by

ink-marks and other stains, and torn or mended leaves. The copy which formerly belonged to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, and which, together with his other books, he bequeathed to the British Museum, is remarkably free from these defects, but it is not immaculate. It is acknowledged to be the finest copy of the book in existence. A peculiarly unctuous character is ascribed to some of these stains by George Steevens, whose amusing *pye-crust note* is well-known. Many collectors have had these ink-marks &c. removed by washing, but this was done at the expense of the paper, which is of a somewhat frail and flimsy texture. It is probably impossible than any book should be subjected to such treatment, without sustaining serious injury. Be that as it may, however, the copy now described has, it is believed, *never been washed*, and the paper has throughout the peculiar discoloration which time alone can give. It follows, as a necessary consequence of what has just been said, that the volume is by no means free from ink-marks, stains and similar blemishes. All these and other defects shall now be carefully noted, beginning with the most important, or those which might be supposed to affect the integrity of the text. A few leaves are first particularly described, while the greater number are classified under general heads.

The *outer leaves* of a book are obviously those most exposed to injury, and the leaves at the commencement more than those at the end. It is here that most persons begin their examination of a volume, and it is here that many of them stop. The cover on either side is often lost, when the injury done to the book is tenfold. The first folio Shakespeare having incurred the same risks, has shared the same fate, with other works of greater or less importance. The popularity of a book very much increases these risks: and the popularity of Shakespeare's Plays is abundantly proved (even if other evidence of it were wanting), by the fact that it was found necessary to issue a second edition of them within nine years after the publication of the first. The first and last leaves, then, of this volume being almost invariably found in a very sorry state, their condition in the present copy is minutely described.

The leaf with Ben Jonson's Verses. Pieced in the front margin, the whole length of the Volume. The new part is one inch wide

at the bottom, and gradually diminishes to one fifth of an inch at the top. A narrow stripe, one inch and two tenths by two tenths of an inch, has been filled in from the top of the upper margin, and another of about half the length from the bottom of the lower margin. On the back of the leaf is some *writing*, viz: three lines in an old hand, and three short lines, with seven detached words, in a hand more modern. The whole of this writing is on the upper part of the leaf; and no portion of it comes within one inch of that part which, on the other side, is occupied by the heading of the verses. There are two small stains, and the leaf is soiled by dust throughout.

Titlepage. Pieced in the front margin. The width at the bottom is a little greater than on the other leaf, but the piecing stops within three inches of the top, diminishing gradually to a point. On the other hand the original leaf had *three horizontal rents* in the front margin, measuring two tenths, three tenths, and eight tenths of an inch respectively, the latter reaching to within a short distance of the copper-line. These have been joined, and a piece of thin paper pasted and sized at the back of the leaf. Two other rents in the lower margin, measuring eight tenths and three tenths of an inch respectively, have been treated in the same manner. A *crack* extends almost the entire length of the lower line of the copper, but the other three sides are smooth and entire. The worst defect of this leaf is a crack extending from the second button of the doublet to the top of the letter "O" in "Histories," passing near the left corner of the mouth, and through the inner corner of the left eye, and coming out near the centre of the forehead. On the engraved side the edges have been joined with great accuracy; while on the back, a very narrow piece of thin paper has been pasted over the seam, and afterwards sized and pressed. Measured this side, the seam is six inches long, by two tenths of an inch in width. Two very small *transverse seams* are seen on the back: the one passing along the mouth, and extending beyond it, is about eight tenths of an inch in length; while the other, which is shorter, crosses the opposite cheek. Of these two transverse seams, nothing is visible on the engraved side. With the exceptions above mentioned, the surface of the leaf is perfectly smooth, and its colour is the same throughout.

Held up to the light, and examined with a microscope, the paper exhibits no trace of former separation; so that it is materially impossible than any *insertion of the portrait* could have been effected. The whole leaf is either false or genuine; and this being the part of the volume which would at once and most particularly engage the attention of Mr. Rodd, the question is soon decided. This leaf is about as much soiled as the first.

THE three following leaves, viz.: the Dedication, "To the great Variety of Readers," and "To the memory of my beloved the Author &c." have all been *pieced in the same place*; the defect becoming less and less conspicuous. In other places the paper is without defect throughout. The leaves are less soiled than the two former.

The next two leaves, containing the *Verses of Holland and Digges* are slightly pieced in the lower corner. In the second of them the defect is scarcely perceptible. The other parts are perfect throughout. The first is somewhat soiled, the latter quite clean.

The next leaf is without fault or blemish. From this point, although many of the leaves have blemishes, these may all be classified under general heads.

Leaves at the end of the volume. A few of these are also minutely described, the remainder coming under the general classification.

The last leaf is pieced in the upper half of the front margin, the defect extending about half way to the border line. The lower corner is also pieced, the widest part measuring from the corner eight tenths of an inch. In other respects it is perfect.

The leaf preceding is mended in the same place, but to a less extent. In other respects perfect. Somewhat soiled.

Seven other leaves are mended in the lower corner, the defective part measuring five tenths of an inch on the last of the seven, and diminishing to a point as the centre of the volume is approached. All these leaves are tolerably clean.

Then come several leaves *perfect throughout*. All others come under the general classification.

The most important leaves in the volume, or at least those which are most frequently found defective, having been described, the others need not be separately enumerated. They are mentioned collectively, with the several defects, blemishes, &c. which affect them, beginning with the most important. It is to be observed that the leaves now to be noticed are *in addition* to those which have already been described.

Rents in the Text. Fourteen leaves are thus affected. In about one half of them, the defect is confined within the border which encloses the text: in the other half, the rent, commencing at the margin, penetrates the text more or less. In either category, where the text was touched on *both sides*, the two edges have been simply brought together, and some adhesive substance passed over the line of junction. In the margin always, and occasionally within the border, where only one side of the leaf is printed, a very narrow strip of fine paper has been used, in the manner already described. Amongst these latter are two small *holes*, rather than rents (included, however, in the above enumeration), about three and four tenths of an inch long respectively, by about one third that width. As it is only in the two categories above-mentioned than any deficiency in the text could occur, every leaf has been examined with the most scrupulous accuracy. The following is the result —

The worst places are the two holes just mentioned, which are *rust spots*. One of them occurs in "The First Part of Henry the Sixt," sig. 1, page 105, *recto*. In the seventh line of Winchester's speech, a very small portion of the text is lost, viz.: the whole of the letter "r", and one half of the letters "u" and "p" respectively, in the word "Purpose." The back of the whole, which occurs in a blank space, has been mended with such neatness, as at first sight to leave it a matter of doubt whether it has been mended at all, or whether the leaf was not rather printed as it now stands, the upper rusty surface having been afterwards lost. A very slight difference in the shade of the paper, and an equally slight *glazed* appearance of the surface at the spot, render it probable that the leaf has been mended.

The second of these rust spots is in "The First Part of King Henry the Fourth" (sig. e5) p. 59, and in the lines commencing —

Prince. It may be so; —
He shall be answerable; —

Here, a small hole (now filled in), passing obliquely from left to right, has carried off the lower part of the letter "P," and leaving the "r" untouched, has reached the upper part of the letters "sh," in the line below, barely touching them. As respects the *loss of any portion of the text*, these two leaves are the worst in the volume.

AFTER this, the deficiencies in the text are of so trifling a character as scarcely to deserve mention, still, as they *are* deficiencies, they are carefully noted. — On one page, the lower half of the letter "r" is lost; and on three other pages, where the edges have been joined together, *very minute portions* of about eight or ten letters have disappeared; in both cases these minute portions having been either slightly *lapped*, or else *rubbed off* before the edges were brought together. With the above exceptions, it may be safely affirmed that *the original text is entire*: and that in no part has any *attempt* been made to *supply the deficiencies with the pen*. The other parts of these rents are either simply joined, or else backed as before explained.

Rents which reach the border, but which do not penetrate the text. These are also in number fourteen, of which nine are simply joined, and five backed as above. In two or three a small portion of the border has been lost — about six tenths and eight tenths of an inch respectively.

Leaves mended in various ways in the margins, but in none of which do the defects reach to the border. About one hundred and thirty leaves in all, in addition to those previously enumerated, are variously affected. The three worst of them are noted: The first leaf of "The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida" is *pieced* the whole length of the front and lower margins, while the upper margin is entire. The border is nearly reached in one corner, where the leaf was shorter than elsewhere. In two other leaves the front margins are pieced for about one half their length, and in depth about one half of the entire margin. The remaining one hundred and twenty-seven leaves have mended places of a variety of forms. These are — a few *nar-*

row seams, running perpendicularly, or horizontally, &c. either from the edge, or confined to the centre, of the margin; — *small holes* in the margin; — *corners of leaves* mended. All these, taken collectively, measure from two inches to one tenth of an inch in length, and from one tenth to two tenths of an inch in width. The great majority consist of *mended corners*, which vary from one inch to one tenth of an inch. In a large proportion of all the leaves, the defects are so small as, at a first glance, to be but just perceptible.

The following is a summary of the number of leaves which may be considered as more or less objectionable:

Leaves at the commencement	7
Leaves at the end	9
Leaves affected in the text	14
Leaves affected in the border line	14
Leaves mended in the margins, c.	130

Or about 174 leaves in all, which being deducted from the whole number of 462 leaves, yields 288 leaves unaffected. But there are other blemishes. These are —

Writing, ink-marks and other stains. In noticing these blemishes, no regard shall be paid to what has gone before.

Nine leaves have been written on, viz.: The Leaf with Ben Jonson's Verses, which has already been described. — The last leaf of "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," has the following note within the oblong above the word "Finis," in a handwriting of about the early part of the last century; "y^e Comedy of y^e Merry Wives &c. which should follow is bound up near y^e latter end of y^e Tragedy of Othello." — Page 316 of "The Tragedie of Othello" has the following note in the foot-margin, in the same hand; "See y^e rest of this Tragedy after y^e Merry Wives of Windsor."* Two leaves have been scribbled on, each leaf on one side of the lower corner, for about two inches in width; and one leaf very slightly in the front margin. So far, the writing does not approach the text; but on three leaves the pen has been used within the form, viz.: On one of them three or four words are written at the end of a short line. On a second the words "popish impostures" in the play of "Titus

* These two references explain a passage in Mr. Rodd's first letter, in which he speaks of the book as being "wrongly bound up."

Andronicus" are underscored; and there is a cross to indicate it in the front margin. On the last, six or eight lines are marked with inverted commas.

Ink-marks and other stains. On turning over the leaves of the volume, about twelve of them attract the attention as being decidedly objectionable. Six of these have stains, varying from one and a half to three and a half inches in length, and generally of a tawny colour. In two the shade is dark, but not enough so to conceal any part of the text. On the other six leaves the stains vary in colour from very light yellow to light tawny, and in size from one inch to one inch and a half. About forty other leaves have small ink-marks and stains, which, though distinctly visible, do not at first strike the eye as being very objectionable. Some of the remainder are far from being immaculate, having very small stains or ink-spots; but these do not appear objectionable, until examined more closely.

Dirty leaves. A few at the beginning and end of the volume have been already spoken of. One dirty leaf and a very few others which are not clean are to be found in the body of the book. Otherwise, the copy, though not *fresh*, so far from being dirty, is decidedly entitled to be called a clean one, when the age and usual condition of the volume are taken into consideration.

General Colour of the Paper. This, with the exception of a few leaves browner than the rest, is tolerably uniform. The paper has that mellow, slightly browned shade throughout, which it is the privilege of time alone to give, and which is so pleasing to the sight of all true lovers of old books. Doubtless this pleasing shade had its due effect in augmenting Mr. Rodd's "dread and horror of washed books," and in confirming him in his determination not to trust to the "infernal wash-tubs and lies" of the book-binders.

Soundness of the paper. With the exceptions already noticed, and of about a half dozen other leaves having small portions weaker than the rest, the paper is sound throughout, being crisp and crackling when handled. The sized water, through which the leaves were passed by Mr. Rodd's orders, has of course served to strengthen them; but this alone would not account for the general character of the paper, which must have been unusually sound and firm.

TO persons unaccustomed to bestow much thought on such matters, the number of defects enumerated in the foregoing description may appear somewhat large. Those, however, who consider the traces which the wear and tear of upwards of two centuries must, almost of necessity, leave on *any book*; those, more especially, who are familiar with the usual appearance of the volume will be disposed to entertain a very different opinion. It must also be borne in mind that the book has been subjected to a scrutiny of such severity as few works of comparatively recent date would be able to resist. The owner has not contented himself with such defects as might manifest themselves, after an examination, not merely casual, but one made with the care commonly bestowed on such occasions. On the contrary, he set out, from the first, with a determination to find blemishes where any such existed. Independent of the careful inspection of the copy shortly after it was obtained from Mr. Rodd, it has recently been examined *three several times*, from beginning to end, leaf for leaf, and each leaf at each examination *separately held up to a strong light*, viz.: once for the rents; a second time for the mended leaves; and lastly for ink-marks and other stains. The result of these several examinations has been given, and it may again be safely affirmed that the great majority of the defects noticed are of so slight a nature (more especially in the case of the mended leaves), that in the description of any other book they would scarcely be deemed worthy of notice.

The volume is 13 $\frac{1}{10}$ inches in height, and measures at the top, from the back (exclusive of the head-band) to the centre of the fore-edge 8 $\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is richly bound in red morocco, gilt-edge, by Charles Lewis.

From all that has been said, it is unnecessary to add that no one acquainted with the subject can for a moment hesitate to concur in Mr. Rodd's verdict, and to pronounce this to be a thoroughly genuine, perfect, and uncommonly fine copy of that most rare and interesting volume, the FIRST FOLIO SHAKESPEARE.

Early Women Printers of America

(Continued from the January 1958 issue)

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

A Great-Great-Aunt of Daniel B. Updike

SARAH UPDIKE GODDARD and later her daughter Mary Katharine were the only women who undertook to carry on a printing establishment for reasons other than the death of a printer-husband. Sarah Updike was one of the five daughters of Lodowick and Abigail (Newton) Updike, and on both her father's and mother's side — they were cousins — descended from prosperous early settlers. Her great-grandfather, Richard Smith, had bought thirty thousand acres from the Narragansett Indians, while her grandfather, Gysbert Opdyck, once owned what is now Coney Island. Sarah's older brother, Daniel, became an eminent lawyer and the Attorney General of Rhode Island Colony. One of his intimate friends was George Berkeley, the Irish Bishop and philosopher, author of the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, who spent three years (1728-31) in Rhode Island occupied with his cherished project of founding a college in the Bermudas. A descendant of Daniel Updike, Sarah's great-great-great nephew, was Daniel Berkeley Updike, founder of the Merrymount Press, one of the foremost American printers and writers on printing in the twentieth century.

The date of Sarah Updike's birth is not known, but it must have been in the early years of the eighteenth century. Brought up in Wickford, Rhode Island, and educated at home by a foreign tutor, she married Giles Goddard of New London, Connecticut, a physician and for many years postmaster in that town.¹⁶

Her husband dying in 1757, Mrs. Goddard was left with a seventeen-year-old son, William, and a daughter, Mary Katharine, but for once widowhood brought no financial problems. Her father had been a wealthy man and, even though he had

seven children, her portion doubtless made her independent, even without her share in her mother's and husband's estates. Young William was already serving an apprenticeship under the printer James Parker in New Haven and New York, and shortly after his time was up he returned to Providence as the first printer in that city. His mother advanced him three hundred pounds to open an office in the summer of 1762 and probably moved to Rhode Island herself, to keep house for her son. In October of that year appeared the first issue of the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, a weekly newspaper which struggled along for two and a half years without acquiring nearly as many subscribers as Goddard had hoped for "in this flourishing and prosperous part of New England." One intimate detail is known from these years. On the afternoon of September 25, 1764, Mrs. Goddard held a party, a "petticoat frisk" it was called, for which William set up the invitations on his press. A copy of this broadside, probably unique, was presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society by Goddard's great-granddaughter.¹⁷

In May 1765 the prospect of heavy stamp duties became the final straw in William's struggle with the paper, and he announced its suspension for six months. He might still have continued, however, did not the running of the paper "immediately interfere with some other concerns in which he is about to be engaged, in order to establish himself on a more advantageous footing."¹⁸ He went on to say that "the printing-business is still to be carried on in Providence as heretofor," but, since he himself went back to New York to work with James Parker and John Holt, this points to the earliest time in which his mother Sarah took over the firm.

She must have proved herself thoroughly capable, for in August when an "extraordinary" issue of the *Gazette* appeared it proclaimed that it was "printed by Sarah and William Goddard." Among the important local items in this number was the announcement of the completion of the new paper mill, and that of "an elegant printing house . . . in this town, which, with encouragement equal to the extensive undertaking, will equal any in America." Sarah and William Goddard offered "a variety of books for sale" and especially invited "traders and others

in the several New-England colonies" to purchase their *New England Almanack* for 1766.¹⁹

When the "Proposals for Printing" the new and improved *Gazette* finally appeared the next March, the required number of subscribers was given as eight hundred, and the price as seven shillings a year, due to the "great disbursements" necessitated by the renovation of the printing equipment. While it was a common occurrence for the printer to be paid in kind, the Goddards are unusual in specifically allowing for such a practice — "Provisions, grain of any kind, wood, and other country produce, will be received in lieu of cash, from near dwellers if brought seasonably." One may note that it was as difficult to collect payment in kind as in cash, for Mrs. Goddard had to request "those of our good customers whose engagements have been to pay for their newspapers in wood . . . to consider the severity of the season, and send an immediate supply."²⁰ Rags of all kinds were requested for the use of the new paper mill and a definite price scale was printed. William must have had a good sense of humor. As an encouragement to the saving of linen rags he promised "to the unmarried ladies . . . that if they will be pleased to distinguish to him such pieces of the linen as were parts of their nether garments, he will cause it to be wrought into the finest paper, so that it may be returned to them in letters, from kind correspondents who are abroad."²¹

Sarah Goddard herself contributed a letter to the "Proposals" in which her own point of view was expressed. "Having been a means of bringing the printing-business into this town," she wrote, "and of furnishing a complete office, in which I purpose to take part for the future, with my son, from a desire of residing in my native colony, I am unwilling to give up the agreeable hopes I had formed, however lucrative a removal might be . . ."

The first issue of the revived *Gazette* did not appear until the August of 1766, when it was printed by "Sarah Goddard and Company, at the Printing Office near the Great Bridge," Mrs. Goddard's principal assistant being Samuel Inslee sent by William from New York. In the meantime the firm had produced several volumes, including a theological tract by Timothy Allen, which still acknowledged William Goddard as a partner.

The earliest imprint by "Sarah Goddard and Company" alone may have been a sermon delivered by David Rowland on June 4, 1766, and probably published shortly thereafter. The most ambitious undertaking by Mrs. Goddard, the two-hundred page edition of the *Letters* of Lady Montague, also dates from this year.²²

When the time came to set up the customary *New-England Almanack* for 1767, prepared annually by Benjamin West, there was consternation at the discovery that a group of Boston publishers had advertised this same almanac as being printed in their city. Sarah protested in her paper that she had purchased the work which was even then in the press. She continued, "Charity bids [her] hope that those gentlemen have more virtue and honor, than to pursue under-handed measures to obtain the property of others and that Mr. West could not be deluded by *any consideration* to deviate from the paths of rectitude, and risque the loss of his credit by selling a second time what he had already disposed of."²³ Yet the New-England almanac *did* make its appearance in Boston as well as Providence! Still she continued to publish this staple product of the colonial printer in the succeeding years.

In the latter part of 1766, when William had gone to Philadelphia to begin those hectic years described in his *The Partnership*, Mrs. Goddard had to advertise for more help. She "wanted immediately, as an apprentice to the printing-business, an honest, sober, sprightly lad, who can read and write . . ." Sometime in the following months Samuel Inslee left her employ, and in the next year William sent to her aid John Carter, who had formerly worked for Benjamin Franklin, and on September 19 his name first appeared with hers in their imprint.²⁴ The printing office had been removed "to the house where the Post-Office is now kept, near the sign of the Golden Eagle, and opposite to Knight Dexter's Esq.," and the shop was advertised as "at the Sign of Shakespeare's Head," a symbol which had been used by William some years before.

Late in 1768 Sarah finally decided to leave her native colony, selling out the Providence business to John Carter and joining her son in Philadelphia. She spent her last years supporting him with money and good advice — which he did not take — in his conflict with his erst-while partners Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton,

and died in Philadelphia on January 5, 1770. Her obituary in the *New York Gazette* paid her this tribute:

Her conduct through all the changing, trying scenes of life, was not only unblamable but exemplary; a sincere piety and unaffected humility, an easy agreeable cheerfulness and affability, an entertaining, sensible and edifying conversation, and a prudent attention to all the duties of domestic life, endeared her to all of her acquaintances, especially in the relations of wife, parent, friend, and neighbour. The death of such a person is a public loss.²⁵

Anne Green of Annapolis

IN 1738, after William Parks had left Maryland for Virginia, the vacant post of public printer was filled by Jonas Green, a young man from the famous New England printing family. Born in Boston, he learned his trade in New London, Connecticut, under his father Timothy Green, who moved there in 1714. Following a few years of work in Boston, Jonas moved on to Philadelphia where he was working, probably with Benjamin Franklin, in 1737, at the time that the Maryland legislature was forced to turn to that city for printing. It may have been thus that he became aware of the opening. Before leaving Philadelphia, he married Anne Catharine Hoof, whose family had emigrated from Holland when she was a child.²⁶

For the next thirty years Anne Green was busy caring for her growing family. She bore fourteen children, six sons and eight daughters, although eight died within a year or two of birth. Her husband, meantime, was occupied not only with his printing but with many civic and social activities. He held the posts of alderman, vestryman of St. Anne's Parish, and postmaster; like other printers mentioned here, he was active in the Masonic Lodge, and among the gentlemen of the Tuesday Club he was known as "Poet, Printer, Punster, Purveyor and Punchmaker general."²⁷ His printing was confined at first to government business, but in 1745 he established the *Maryland Gazette*. Isaiah Thomas said, "His printing was correct, and few, if any, in the colonies exceeded him in the neatness of his work."²⁸ In 1747 he wrote to Franklin, "Our Assembly added this session five pounds in each county to my

salary, but added to the work likewise, which I am well content with; they give me now two hundred and sixty pounds our currency a year . . ." And of his paper he added: "I have about 450 or 460 good customers for seal'd papers, and about 80 unseal'd."²⁹

In 1767 Green died. In the next issue of the *Gazette* his widow made the usual plea for patronage, expressing her confidence that "with your kind indulgence and encouragement, MYSELF, and SON, will be enabled to continue in [the business of Provincial Printer] on the same footing."³⁰ Two of her sons, William, 20, and Frederick, 17, worked in the printing shop, and as soon as he reached his majority William was given the privilege of including his name in the imprint of the *Gazette*. The new firm immediately went to work to complete the *Acts of Assembly* and *Votes and Proceedings* for the preceding session of the legislature, completing the task by April 30. There was considerable delay before Anne Green could be sure that the Assembly would continue to entrust her with its business. On May 30, 1768, her petition came before the Upper and Lower Houses, and on June 18 the Governor signed into law the "Act for the Speedy and Effectual Publication of the Laws of this Province and for the Encouragement of Anne Catharine Green of the City of Annapolis Printer."³¹ It will be noted that, as in the case of Elizabeth Timothy and Ann Franklin, the matriarch conducted all negotiations in her own name, even though her son was no longer a minor.

The terms of the Act (identical to those in her late husband's contract) are of some interest. Maryland was still on a "tobacco standard" and each county was assessed an amount of tobacco proportionate to its size and importance. The county of Baltimore, the largest, was expected to contribute 5,160 pounds towards the cost of the printer, and the total from the province was 44,044 pounds, at a conversion rate of twelve shillings and six pence per hundred pounds. In order to ensure a continuity of the office, Mrs. Green was allowed a somewhat lower salary even in a year in which the Assembly did not meet and there were, therefore, no laws to print. In return, she was required to reside at Annapolis during the continuance of the Act and "to print, stitch, cover with marble or blue paper, and deliver" a specified number of copies of the public laws within three months, and the *Votes and Proceedings* of the Lower

House within four months after the end of each session. The legislature realized that emergencies sometimes occurred and, accordingly, the printer would be excused a delay caused "by the death of her hands employed in the press or by sickness or the unavoidable accident of her press breaking." Mrs. Green was also allowed 320 pounds of tobacco a year by each county court for "printing and delivering a sufficient number of books, notes, and manifests for the inspectors of each inspection."³² The Act was renewed for several years.

In the meantime, Anne Green was facing the old problem of settling the estate. In May 1767 she requested that "all persons having just claims against the estate of Jonas Green, late of this city, deceased" bring them in for adjustment and that "all those who are indebted, immediately to settle with Mr. John Clapham [her son-in-law], and pay off their balances, that I may thereby be enabled to pay off the claims, and compleat this business without loss of time."³³ There was no nonsense about Mrs. Green; six weeks later she gave notice that she had appointed local representatives in each county to collect the outstanding debts. Shortly thereafter she announced that no advertisements would be accepted, unless from subscribers, without cash in advance, in order to avoid this multiplicity of small accounts.³⁴

Mrs. Green and her firm confined themselves almost entirely to the printing of the annual *Laws* and *Votes and Proceedings* and the weekly *Gazette*. However, she did issue the ubiquitous "almanack," and some dozen or more broadsides or single sheets on contemporary local affairs are known. In 1774 she published a pamphlet by the Reverend James Maury against the Anabaptists. The two most important volumes from her press, besides the government publications, were the Charter and Bye-laws of the city of Annapolis, and Elie Valette's *The Deputy Commissary's Guide*. The former has been described as "a beautifully printed little volume of fifty-two pages, which for typographical nicety could hardly have been surpassed by the best of her contemporaries in the colonies."³⁵ The second, published in May 1774, was a larger book of 260 pages. According to an advertisement, non-subscribers could be supplied "with a few remaining books, at the same price of 12s 6d, ready

bound." The advertisement was bolstered by a recommendation from the Commissary General himself, William Fitzhugh. The *Guide* is noted as the only colonial Maryland imprint with an engraved title-page. The artist was Thomas Sparrow, a protégé, and possibly a ward, of Jonas Green. After an apprenticeship as goldsmith and jeweler in Philadelphia, he returned to Annapolis in 1765 where he set up his own shop, assisting the Greens with wood engravings for title-pages, tail-pieces, and so forth. The *Guide* contains his one copper engraving.³⁶

In 1770 Anne Green received \$1,000 or £225 for printing bills of credit to the amount of \$318,000. The Act authorizing this issue took great care to avoid fraud:

The printer who shall be employed in printing and stamping the said bills of credit and all his apprentices and servants which he may employ in the said work shall before he or they begin or enter upon the same take before some justice of the provincial or county court the following oath to wit "I A.B. do swear that I will truly, faithfully and honestly perform the duty of printer . . . and will not advisedly print or stamp any greater number of blank bills of credit than in that act mentioned or of other denominations than therein expressed except such sheets as may be blotted unfair or imperfect in the impressing or printing thereof that the same shall be unfit for use."

If the printer should be found guilty of breach of contract, he would be fined £500, and any apprentice or servant "shall on conviction in due course of law receive corporal punishment by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes."³⁷ Three years later there was another issue of paper money, with the printer's fee being \$1,500.

William Green died in August 1770, and for awhile the *Gazette* was again published in the name of Anne Catharine Green alone. With the issue of January 2, 1772, the imprint became "Anne Catharine and Son," the son being, of course, Frederick, then twenty-two years old. Mrs. Green died March 23, 1775. "She was of a mild and benevolent disposition and for conjugal affection, and parental tenderness, an example to her sex," ran her obituary.³⁸ Frederick and his younger brother Samuel were left to carry on the business. It is of interest to note that the printing-office's equipment, assessed at the death of Jonas as something over £90, had by then depreciated to

£53. Among other items in the inventory there were two presses, "one very old," and worth but two pounds, the other, with its furniture, valued at ten pounds.

Frederick and Samuel continued to print the *Gazette* until 1811, in which year both died. Samuel's son, Jonas, succeeded to the business carrying it on until the end of 1839.

Clementina Rind of Williamsburg

LITTLE is known of Clementina Rind's early days, save that she was born in Maryland. Her husband, William Rind, had been an apprentice and later a partner of Jonas Green at Annapolis. William carried on also a book store and circulating library. It was probably toward the end of this period (1758-1766) that he married Clementina, for in 1766 Thomas Jefferson and a group of his friends invited him to move to Virginia and set up a press which would offer competition to that of William Parks, the only one then in the colony and considered to be too subservient to the Governor.³⁹

The new establishment was set up in Williamsburg and on May 16, 1766, appeared the first issue of *Rind's Virginia Gazette*, later known simply as the *Virginia Gazette* — although there was a rival paper of that name. Backed by his sponsors, Rind soon became the public printer, the November session of the *Journal* of the House of Burgesses appearing under his imprint. His annual salary in time grew to £450, and his official work, together with his newspaper, job printing, and almanacs, etc. provided a living for his family which now included two small boys, William Alexander and John. At some point in the next few years, John Pinkney, a young relative, joined the firm, probably as an apprentice.⁴⁰

In 1773, "after a lingering illness," William Rind died at the age of forty-nine and was buried with full Masonic honors. The notice in the Rinds' paper was short, the "afflicted family" gratefully acknowledging "the kind attention and concern expressed by each individual."⁴¹ Burial took place at the church of the parish of Bruton; the Reverend John Dixon, a Mason and professor of divinity in William and Mary College, read the

office "and a solemn dirge, suitable to the occasion, was performed on the organ by Mr. Peter Pelham, a brother likewise."⁴²

In the next issue of the paper Clementina Rind expressed the hope that she might carry on the business successfully and asked for the support — financial as well as moral — of her readers:

The ardent desire I have of rendering this paper as useful and entertaining as possible urges the necessity of attending to this request; as it must be obvious to every one that business of so extensive a nature cannot be carried on with that spirit which is necessary, without a sufficient fund to support it; mine, in great measure, depends on the punctuality of those who favor me with their commands . . . An unaffected desire to please, an indefatigable attention to my business, and the assistance of persons whose abilities and attachment I can rely on, will, I hope, make me not entirely unworthy of encouragement from the public in general, and from the Honourable House of Burgesses in particular; whose favour I once more take the liberty to solicit, and in whose generous breasts it lies to bestow happiness and plenty on my orphan family; if they find me capable of being their servant.⁴³

In order to settle her husband's estate, Clementina was obliged to sell at public auction all the personal possessions of the little family, "consisting of Household and Kitchen Furniture, &c." The inventory and appraisal drawn up in preparation for the sale by Alexander Purdie, John Dixon, Robert Prentis, and John Pinkney show these objects in minute detail. Here are the sheets and pillow cases, the warming pan and fish kettle, four silver tea spoons and fourteen bushels of coal. The total worth of the estate was £272-5-6, the most valuable objects being those in the printing office. The two presses were estimated at £25 and the fonts of Long Primer and English at £31-5-0 each. There was also a "cutting press and other materials for binding." These tools of course were not to be auctioned, but one wonders what happened to the two cows and the "Negro man Dick" who was valued at £30.⁴⁴

The impending loss of all her intimate belongings was not the only problem with which Mrs. Rind had to contend. The same day on which the sheriff's notice appeared in the *Gazette*, there was advertised for sale three "tenements in the city of Williamsburg which . . . are now held by William Lee, Esq. of

the city of London" — one of them being "the brick house on the Main St., where Mrs. Rind lives."⁴⁵ There is no evidence that the new owner dispossessed his tenants, since her imprint in the *Gazette* remained "at the New Printing-Office on the Main Street," but there must have been many an anxious moment for the young mother.

Even the appointment as public printer, on which she pinned her hopes for security, was by no means a foregone conclusion. When the House of Burgesses took up the matter the following May, there were three applicants, for Alexander Purdie and John Dixon had each submitted his own petition. But on May 24 it was resolved that the Printer to the Public should be chosen by secret ballot and Mrs. Rind was elected by a large majority, receiving sixty out of the eighty-seven votes cast.⁴⁶ The Assembly was prorogued two days later, not to meet again until June 1, 1775; fortunately, the matter of payment to the Printer had been decided a year earlier when William Rind had requested that his salary, about to expire, be continued through the 1774 session. Thus the £450 was assured, the terms under which Clementina carried on her duties being similar to those in effect elsewhere.

Even before the outcome of her petition was known, Clementina was ambitiously ordering "an elegant set of types from London, of a smaller size than those used at present, together with all other materials relating to the printing business." The old bugbear of delinquent payments was with her, however, and while boasting of "having lately considerably enlarged her paper . . . and being extremely desirous of supporting the dignity of her gazette, and keeping it at a fixed standard," she begged especially those who had placed advertisements or purchased blanks, etc. "either to send cash, or settle at the next general court."⁴⁷

As the break with England drew inevitably closer, Clementina faithfully carried out the motto of the paper, "Open to all parties, but influenced by none." Her philosophy as editor is well given in one of her columns:

At a time when the liberties of the colonies are daringly infringed, and despotism is exerting her baneful influence in the minds of those who wish not well to the just privileges of America,

it certainly behooves every well-wisher to her rights, and more particularly a publisher of intelligence who has her cause sincerely at heart, to lay openly those matters which may, in any respect, tend to the discovery of arbitrary or illegal measures, threatened by the mother country towards us. Under this head, the printer of this paper conceives herself obligated to convey to the public the late despotic proceedings of the H—e of C—s in the most ample manner, and to brand with infamy those unprecedented resolves which they have so precipitately entered into . . .⁴⁸

With the public business assured and her new types in use, the future seemed promising. On the first anniversary of her husband's death she wrote:

The printer would by no means be understood to boast a *superiority* in the conduct of a vehicle of this nature; she only advances, that it shall be her particular endeavour to amuse and instruct, and, at the same time, her firm determination, ever to preserve the *dignity* of her paper . . .

A general correspondence with all the printers of this continent, as also with many of the printers and others with whom it is convenient to carry on a correspondence of this sort, in many of the principal towns and cities of Great Britain, is established, which will of course, be materially interesting and useful to us, by affording means to supply our readers with the latest intelligence from those different quarters . . .⁴⁹

The article appeared on September 8, 1774. Two weeks later she died.

Besides the 1774 *Journal* of the House of Burgesses, two broadside proclamations and the two-page *Association* . . . signed by 89 members of the late House . . . May 27, 1774, only one pamphlet is attributed to Mrs. Rind's press, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* . . . by Thomas Jefferson. The exact date of the publication of this last piece is not known, but it was definitely in print by the end of August. However, like her fellow-craftsmen elsewhere, Clementina added to her income by the sale of books. She had, of course, the Virginia almanack for 1774 "by the celebrated Mr. Rittenhouse," the last item prepared for the press by her husband. In May she offered as "just published" and "to be sold at both printing houses" the Reverend Samuel Henley's *Candid Refutation of the Heresy* . . . and a sermon of his preached at the Parish church of Bruton. Most likely they were printed by Purdie and Dixon.

In August Mrs. Rind received a small shipment of books from John Sparhawk of Philadelphia — “a few copies” of Josiah Quincy Jr.’s *Observations on the Boston Port Bill*, James Murray’s [New] *Sermons to Asses*, and *The History of Juliet Grenville* by Henry Brooke.

In order to stretch the family income further, she even took in boarders. On July 7, B. Dandridge, an attorney, advertised to his clients that he would “attend at his lodgings, at Mrs. Rind’s, in Williamsburg, the day before the courts . . . and in all public times, to receive the commands of those that will employ him.” And that at other times, “his clients letters left there will be forwarded to him in New Kent by a careful hand . . .”

Clementina Rind’s obituary appeared in the September 29, 1774, *Gazette*, which was published by John Pinkney “for the benefit of Clementina Rind’s Estate”:

It ill beseems the printer, he apprehends, as being a relation, to pretend to characterize her. The public, who must in general have been acquainted with her, know her qualifications. It shall, however, be his most ardent study to protect her children, for which purpose, he hopes those who have hitherto favoured this office, will not now discontinue their kindness.

Pinkney seems to have been as good as his word, for his two imprints, the *Virginia Almanack* for 1775 and Francis Hopkinson’s *A Pretty Story* . . . as well as the *Gazette* for six months, were printed by him “for the benefit of Clementina Rind’s children.” In February he announced the appointment of Jacob Bruce to collect the debts due to the estate. And in April Bruce himself ran an advertisement requesting all those still owing any money to bring or send it by the next meeting of the merchants, adding that “the amount of Mrs. Rind’s paper, from the first to her death, is 13 shillings and 6 pence.”

There was again competition for the post of public printer, with Alexander Purdie and the firm of Dixon and Hunter applying, as well as Pinkney. Purdie won by a margin of five votes.⁵⁰ The Rinds’ friends doubtless would have liked to help out, but the choice now was between man and man, and Purdie was older and better established as a printer; then, too, John’s father Jonathan was known to be a Loyalist, a fact which may well have swung some votes. Purdie, however, showed himself

to be a true gentleman, by presenting a petition to the House "to be allowed for printing the proceedings of the convention at Richmond in March last; and that such allowance be for the benefit of the orphans of Mrs. Rind." The motion was denied; at the same time, the burgesses voted the sum of £347-10-0 to be paid John Pinkney "for performing the duty of public Printer, since the death of Mrs. Rind."⁵¹ Pinkney found himself ever deeper in debt, until early in 1776 the *Gazette* was suspended. He grasped eagerly at an invitation to go to Halifax, capital of North Carolina, to take the place of James Davis, who had fallen into disfavor politically. In order to satisfy his creditors, he was forced to borrow four hundred pounds from one of his new sponsors. Unfortunately, the new enterprise did not work out very well, and within a year he was dead.⁵²

With their cousin's departure the two children, William and John, were left alone. But the Masonic brethren came to the rescue and for several years the account books of the Williamsburg Lodge showed regular payments for board, schooling, and clothing for the "orphans of Mr. Wm. Rind."⁵³ The older boy was apprenticed in the family trade and, after publishing the *Virginia Federalist* at Richmond, became the first printer in the District of Columbia.

(To be concluded)

Notes

16. Charles W. Opdyke, *The Op Dyck Genealogy* (New York, 1889), 87-93.
17. [Bradford F. Swan], "A Petticoat Frisk," *Rhode Island History* for October 1945, 117.
18. *Providence Gazette*, May 4, 1765.
19. *Ibid.*, "Extraordinary issue," August 24, 1765.
20. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1767.
21. *Proposals for Printing the Providence Gazette* (Providence, March 12, 1766).
22. For Sarah Goddard's imprints, see John E. Alden, *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800* (New York, 1949).
23. *Providence Gazette*, October 15, 1766.
24. John Carter Brown, the famous book-collector and benefactor of Brown University, was this printer's grandson.

25. Opdyke, *op. cit.*, 93.
26. Wroth, *op. cit.*, 76.
27. *Ibid.*, 80-81.
28. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (2d ed.: Albany, 1874), I, 321.
29. Quoted in Wroth, *op. cit.*, 82-83.
30. *Maryland Gazette*, April 16, 1767.
31. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. LXI (Maryland Historical Society, 1944), 287, 343, 314.
32. *Ibid.*, 455-58.
33. *Maryland Gazette*, May 7, 1767.
34. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1767.
35. Wroth, *op. cit.*, 91.
36. *Ibid.*, 87-89.
37. *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. LXII (Maryland Historical Society, 1945), 134-35.
38. *Maryland Gazette*, March 30, 1775.
39. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States*, Vol. II, *Middle & South Atlantic States* (New York, 1936), 116.
40. The exact relation of William Rind and John Pinkney is uncertain, but Jonathan Pinkney, an immigrant to Annapolis, Maryland, from England, married successively Margaret Rind and her sister Ann. William was probably a brother of these girls and John his nephew. Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography* sub William Pinkney.
41. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), August 26, 1773.
42. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 26, 1773.
43. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), September 23, 1773.
44. *William and Mary College Quarterly* (1937), 53-55.
45. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), September 23, 1773.
46. *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776* (Richmond, 1905), I, 77, 124-25. (May 7, May 24, 1773.)
47. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), April 14, 1774.
48. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1774.
49. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1774.
50. *Journals* (June 16, 1775), 195.
51. *Ibid.* (June 19, 20, 1775), 264, 270.
52. McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, 291.
53. *Wm. & Mary Coll. Quar.*, July 1892, 13-14.

Italian Morality Plays

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

TO its fine group of Italian mystery or morality plays, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, the Library has added three items: *Santa Dorothea Vergine & Martire*, Florence 1555, *Santo Giovanni Dicollato*, Florence 1568, and *Giosef Figliuolo di Giacob*, Orvieto 1606. All three are small quartos and have one or two woodcuts.

The drama of Santa Dorothea was first printed in Florence in 1516; the Library's copy is of the third or fourth edition. It has seven leaves, and is printed in two columns to a page. Except for the title, it is in Roman type. On the title-page is a large, striking woodcut, framed in an ornamental border: in a formal landscape stands a lovely young woman, garlanded and haloed, with long, wavy hair, holding a gathering of flowers in the folds of her garment, while with her right hand she lifts up the model of a city above which the name "Pescia" is printed. Curiously, the edition of 1555 has not been credited with this beautiful woodcut either by Paul Kristeller or by Max Sander. A second cut within the text shows the Saint being thrust into a basin of fire and attacked by two men with pitchforks, while another gives directions from a balcony; a dove holds a crown over the martyr's lowered head.

In accordance with tradition, the drama opens with the prologue of the announcing angel. The verse follows an intricate rhyme-scheme and at times attains an inspired beauty:

Today with her two sisters you will see
Walk, like the panting hart to the divine font,
The virgin and saint Dorothy . . .

A spy denounces Dorothea as a foe to the pagan faith, and she is brought before Fabritius, Prefect of Caesarea, who is "taken by her beauty." Their dialogue is made especially effective by the brevity and crispness of the lines. If Dorothea will deny Christ and worship the pagan gods, Fabritius will make her his wife. He pleads that he is young, rich, and a great lord, but she retorts:

... if you are rich, He is richness itself,
 if you are powerful, He is the very power,
 if you are young, in Him there is no age,
 if you are wise, He is the sum of wisdom,
 if you are fair, then He himself is beauty,
 if you are knowing, He is very knowledge,
 And you, my Lord, are subject unto Him . . .

Then Dorothea is thrown into a burning cauldron, but she is aware only of the sweet scent of a thousand flowers and gentle breezes and does not feel the fire. Having failed to win her, the Prefect sends Calista and Clista to convert her. They recognize in Dorothea their own sister; and, instead of converting her, they are converted and martyred:

Jesu, for thee we die with happy face,
 Jesu, receive thou us in thy embrace . . .

Dorothea is once more thrust into the cauldron. The Savior appears and hails her as his daughter and spouse. Finally she is decapitated, but not before making an ardent convert of the judge Teofilo, to whom she promises to send fruits and flowers from Paradise.

THE earliest recorded edition of *Santo Giovanni Dicollato* ("St. John beheaded") is attributed to Bartolomeo de Libri, Florence c. 1490. There was an edition in Bologna about 1505, and two more Florentine editions preceding that of 1568. This volume has five leaves, two columns to a page. The title-page has in the upper half the figure of the announcing angel, and in the lower half an excellent composition: at the right, St. John bows his head beneath the sword of the executioner while, to the left, a kneeling woman holds a platter ready to receive it; behind her two soldiers are watching.

For the length of more than two columns the angel prepared the audience for what they are about to see and hear. This seems indeed necessary, because, the unities of time and place being absent in the mystery plays, there is a shift from the river Jordan to the palace of Herod and back. St. John comes down from a mountain into the desert and baptizes his disciples. Bearded old men and scribes ask him who he is:

L A
Rappresentatione di Santa
Dorothea Vergine:
et Martire.

Nuouamente Ristampata.



Title-Page of Santa Dorothea, Florence, 1568

If thou art Christ, say so and do not lie,
Or if thou art Elias whisper that,
Of who thou art and of thy life unknown
Tell us the truth and if thou art a prophet.

St. John replies :

Christ I am not who before me was born
Of the excellent Virgin Mary ;
That the pure truth may not be hidden from you,
I tell you too that I am not Elias
Nor any prophet famous in the world . . .

One of the scribes asking him why and how he baptizes, St. John answers :

I baptize with water and on Christ rely
And with a loud voice through the desert cry.

The stage directions proclaim the appearance of God the Father and of Jesus with four angels. Christ asks John to baptize him, and John, hesitating according to Scripture, complies, and the dove appears. After the baptism, Jesus goes off into the mountain, and John resumes his preaching, telling of the prophecies that foretold Christ, in six remarkable stanzas, each of which begins : "Prepare the way for the Lord."

While John is still preaching, the King appears. John reproaches him for his sin, and then politely suggests : "It would be a great courtesy in you to render his lady to your brother!" The King admits that he has done wrong and returns to his house where he confronts his consort :

I want to turn to God with a contrite heart,
And you back to your husband shall depart.

The lady protests and darkly hints that their daughter, so beautiful that "she seems fashioned in Paradise," will be the "final medicine" for this infamy. Under her influence, the King has John seized and put into prison. Then he orders a great banquet, in the midst of which his daughter dances. She is told by the King to ask for whatever favor she wishes, "and if you ask half of the kingdom you shall have it." The dutiful daughter consults her "dear mother." As everyone knows, the mother (neither the name of Herod, nor Herodias is mentioned, not to speak of Salome, which is not scriptural) instructs her :

Lest we in much affliction be undone,
Go and request of him the head of John.

When the girl has made her request, the King is horrified: "I did not think that you would ask for blood." He will not condemn so saintly a man to death. His daughter weeps, and two lords rise to champion her, insisting that the promise be kept. Reluctantly the King orders the decapitation.

Here the action pauses while Jesus speaks to John, encouraging him and sending messages to the patriarchs whom John will see in Limbo. "And shake hands with father Adam for me . . ." To John he promises: "My mother and I will be with thee in Paradise — have no fear!" When Jesus has departed, the executioner appears, apologizing for the deed that he is forced to commit. He cuts off the head and watches while the soul goes to Limbo and discourses with Adam. The head of John is brought to the King, who laments the scandalous request of his wicked daughter. But the girl brings the head to her mother who receives it with satisfaction.

GIOSEF *Figliuolo di Giacob* may be found, according to Colomb de Batines, in the *Raccolta* of old mystery plays printed in the fifteenth century, which he calls "a bibliographical rarity." The first separate printing of the play was by Bernardo Zucchetto in Florence in 1523, and this was followed by numerous Florentine editions in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Others were issued in Siena, Venice, Rome, Perugia, Viterbo — and Orvieto which appears in the colophon of the Library's copy. The volume has eight leaves, two columns to the page. The small woodcut on the title-page shows a young man holding a cloak thrown over one arm, standing opposite an older bearded man, while other figures stand crowded in the doorway listening. It represents Jacob's gift of a coat to his son.

The story of Joseph is one of the most dramatic narratives of the Bible. Its power and pathos have been recognized through the centuries down to the present, when Thomas Mann made it the theme of his great trilogy *Joseph and his Brothers*.

Joseph is sent by his father Jacob into the pastures after his

brothers, who are plotting to destroy him, ostensibly because of a vainglorious dream he had told them about. "There comes our dreamer . . ." They end by selling him as a slave to passing merchants. Innocently Joseph asks:

What have I done to you, beloved brothers,
This hate for me — whence has it come?
And have you all become so cruel
That you have stripped and sold me?
May God, who rules the world and the skies
Give you forgiveness and to me His aid!
You do not know what evil you are doing.
And yet the time will come when you'll bewail it!

The merchants take Joseph to Potiphar, here called the "Duca Putifar," and he, greatly pleased with the intelligent youth, will give him to the Pharaoh. Told that wild beasts have devoured his favorite son, Jacob mourns for Joseph. Benjamin, too, is heart-broken.

"Now," say the stage directions, "the story turns to the wife of the Duke and how she demands of Joseph improper and ugly things." In answer to her passionate outpourings, Joseph reproaches her:

Think of your worthy and dear husband,
And what offense you have done unto God.
This unbridled and bestial lust
Is put into your soul by the evil demon.
Who conquers not himself is most unstable,
And cannot be a creature reasonable . . .

Joseph flees, but Potiphar's wife retains his mantle and accuses him before her husband, who has the young man put into prison. There Joseph demonstrates his exceptional power by correctly interpreting the dreams of his fellow prisoners. The Pharaoh dreams his famous dream of the seven fat and the seven lean cows, and has the astrologers and philosophers of his realm summoned to find out its meaning. They fail, while Joseph, released from prison, not only interprets the dream but gives invaluable advice how to avert the threatened famine. He is made Governor of the realm and the Pharaoh assures him:

No one shall be above thee or look down
Save only me alone who wears the crown.

The story is too well known — how Joseph's brothers come to buy grain and do not know him; Joseph's ruse of having the golden cup put into Benjamin's sack; the despair of Benjamin, when he is accused of theft; and Joseph's final revelation of himself to his brothers:

Love so constrains me, my beloved brothers,
That I no longer can keep myself hidden.
O God who seest all our doings
And hast ordained all things to a good end
Now take out from my heart all dark suspicions . . .
Joseph I am, your younger brother
Who bears for you a unique love.

The three little books are preserved in modern bindings; the third is in white covers stamped with the coat-of-arms of Prince d'Essling.

Thackeray Drawings in the Print Department

By PAUL B. SWENSON

IN connection with *National Library Week*, March 16-22, the Print Department of the Boston Public Library arranged, from its extensive holdings, a special exhibition of prints and drawings relating to literary subjects. The late Albert H. Wiggin gave the Library, besides his great print collection, a group of rare literary items, including fine illustrated early editions, fore-edge books, and original drawings and prints made for book illustration. Among the latter are drawings and prints by Thomas Rowlandson, drawings and proofs of etchings by George Cruikshank, and also drawings by Thackeray.

The Thackeray drawings — twelve of them — were done during the novelist's visits at Sir Arthur Hallam Elton's home, Clevedon Court, Somersetshire. They remained in the Elton family for many years, mounted in a red morocco-bound album with handsome end-papers of elaborate patterns in gold and bearing the Elton bookplate. Nine of the sketches are in pencil, two are in pen-and-ink, and one is a small watercolor. Some of them have descriptive lines in Thackeray's hand; and there are also two short notes from Thackeray to Lady Elton.

About 1860 the drawings, excepting the watercolor, with the addition of two subjects (which were later stolen while the album was still in the possession of the Elton family) were reproduced in lithography and privately issued in the form of a brochure with the title *William Makepeace Thackeray at Clevedon Court*. Although the art of lithographic reproduction was already fairly advanced, much of the delicacy and individual characteristics of the originals, especially the pencil drawings, has been lost. Since the drawings were not intended for reproduction, most of them would present problems even with the advanced methods used today.

The Clevedon Court copy of the brochure is also in the Print Department. On the pages of both original and reproduction are brief penciled remarks of explanation by Sir Ambrose Elton, grandson of Thackeray's host, written in 1929. Sir Am-

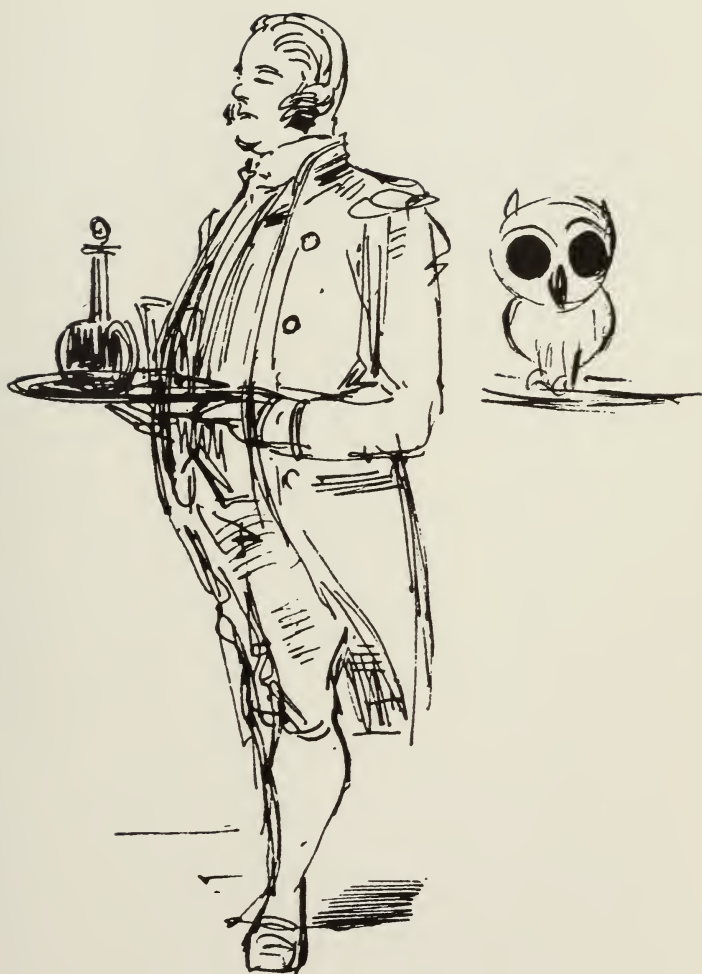
brose also states that Thackeray was a frequent visitor to Cleveden Court, and that the place made a great impression upon him, providing the inspiration for "Castlewood," the setting of his novel *Henry Esmond*.

The small watercolor in the group represents the Great Hall at Cleveden Court, and dates from about 1850. Although it is miniature in size, measuring only $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, it is in many ways one of the most attractive of the collection. Showing a corner of the Great Hall, Thackeray succeeded in conveying a feeling of the spaciousness of the room with its lofty ceiling, great fireplace, and large areas of wall with high wainscoting of dark wood above which hang ancestral portraits. To the left of the fireplace and facing the spectator is a large sofa painted in a warm reddish tone. This bit of color stands out as a vibrant accent against the darker sepia and umber tones used in the rest of the composition. Seated on the sofa and in chairs about the fireplace are three ladies, probably members of the Elton family, drawn too small to make identification possible. There also seems to be a man seated in front of the fireplace sketching the women, perhaps Thackeray himself. The work has considerable merit and charm in its depiction of the life and atmosphere of a great English house during the middle of the past century.

The drawing reproduced with this article shows a pompous, liveried footman carrying a tall-necked decanter and one or two glasses on a tray. To the right of the figure appears what is described by Sir Ambrose Elton as an owl lamp of silver having large ruby glass eyes.

Mrs. Brookfield, a member of the Elton family and a close friend of Thackeray, appears in several of the drawings. One is a pleasingly arranged scene showing her half reclining on a chaise-longue in the schoolroom of Cleveden Court, occupied with some needlework. The figure is drawn with clarity and distinction, as are the details of the room, such as the mantle-piece with its decorations and fire-implements. All are quickly indicated with a light-handed but vital touch of the pencil.

Although all but one of the other drawings were done at Cleveden Court, they do not all bear direct reference to the Elton family. Several sketches are typical examples of Thack-



Thackeray's Drawing of a Footman

eray's humorous, somewhat grotesque caricatures. The drawings done in pen-and-ink as well as several of those in pencil are carried to a point of considerable finish. Each is a product of a certain mood or an inspired moment of wit of the great novelist.

While Thackeray's talent as an artist is amply confirmed by an examination of this collection, it is of interest to quote the comment of Charlotte Brontë, who in 1848 wrote to a friend: "You will not easily find a second Thackeray. How he can render with a few black lines and dots, shades of expression so real; trait of character so minute, so subtle, so difficult to seize and fix . . . Thackeray may not be a painter, but he is a wizard of a draughtsman; touched with his pencil, paper lives."

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

A Grenadier on the Last Battles of the Revolution

THE War of Independence had been going on for over five years. The Americans were plagued by the tremendous devaluation of their currency, while on the positive side the French had begun sending active support, first their fleet under d'Estaing, then six thousand men under Rochambeau. The British, on the other hand, were preparing for a final blow. In the middle of September 1780 a number of British ships commanded by Sir George Rodney gathered off Sandy Hook, joining the forces of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot and immobilizing the French division at Newport. In South Carolina Lord Cornwallis had, on the 16th of August, surprised and decisively beaten General Gates. Some three thousand British troops were gathered together in New York, awaiting orders to set sail for Chesapeake Bay under Major-General Leslie.

Among the latter was Lieutenant Francis Richardson, of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (better known in later years as the Grenadier Guards), who had arrived from England in the spring of 1779. The Boston Public Library has recently acquired a letter by him written to a friend, after embarking on the transport *Neptune*:

On Board the *Neptune*
North River October 13th

Dear Lewis,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 12th October which I have just receiv'd. The Assurance it contains of your regard gives me great pleasure.

Within these few weeks the face of Affairs are quite reversed. The last accounts from Lord Cornwallis previous to the Action to the Southward were very disheartning, but the defeat of the Rebels which immediately follow'd is of the best and most important consequences. The Action was doubtful for some time. The Event was Glorious to Lord Cornwallis.

General Leslie who Commands the Present Expedition (which is believed to be for the Southward) Sails tomorrow. He takes with Him the Guards, the Regiment D'Bose, the Flank Corps of the 82d, Small's Corps, Fanning's Corps and Watson's with

the Addition of 100 Yagers. I hope soon to have the pleasure to Acquaint you that we are in quiet possession of North Carolina. I am told they are three fourths *Friend*.

Lieutenant Richardson apparently wrote "October" in error for September in referring to the letter of his friend who must have been in England. At the time of his writing the Lieutenant's optimism was already outdated. Just a few days earlier, on October 7, Major Patrick Ferguson, one of Cornwallis's most competent officers, had in turn been badly defeated by a motley assortment of American backwoodsmen, with his 1,100 men killed, wounded, or captured. Leslie's forces would be needed more than ever. As to his other references: "Small's Corps" was from the 84th Regiment, known as "The Royal Highland Emigrants"; Colonel John Watson's men consisted of the wing companies of the several volunteer corps; and Major-General Carl von Bose, of course, commanded a regiment of Hessians. "Faning" apparently was Colonel Edmund Fanning, a Loyalist born on Long Island but for many years resident in North Carolina where he had served in the Assembly. When Governor Tryon was transferred from that state to New York, Fanning went with him, and upon the outbreak of hostilities raised and commanded a corps of troops known variously as "the Associated Refugees" or "the King's American Regiment of Foot," which acquired a bad reputation for cruelty.

On the local scene the most important recent event had been the defection of Benedict Arnold on September 25, accompanied by the capture and execution of Major André. Richardson naturally speaks of it:

You will no doubt receive a circumstantial Account of poor André's fate. He was executed the 2d Instant. Is much and deservedly Lamented.

And Arnold who came in about 10 Days Since is appointed to the Command of a Corps with the Rank of Brigadier General. His Example is likely to be follow'd by many of the same Rank in the Rebel Army.

Then he turns to an affair which greatly agitated the British officers at the time:

You will of course have heard of the affair between Colonels Gordon and Thomas. The Court marshal is over — the Sentence not known but both are Orderd to remain *Here*. Gordon's behaviour has been very Absurd, and Thomas's not only ungenerous but Cruel to excess.

On June 23, 1780, Lieutenant-Colonel Cosmo Gordon, of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, was in charge of a battalion during an attack on Springfield, New Jersey. Shortly thereafter Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Thomas of the First Regiment was heard to accuse him of neglect of duty on that occasion. When Gordon, who had been slightly wounded and thus temporarily absent from the post, discovered this upon his return, he brought Thomas to a court-martial on a charge of "secretly and scandalously aspersing his character, in a manner unlike an Officer and a Gentleman . . ." The court-martial was held in September and Thomas was acquitted. There was however an unfortunate sequel. The rumors about Gordon's cowardice at Springfield continued to circulate and finally, in 1782, he himself was tried before a court-martial on the charge of "not having done his duty before the Enemy on the 23d of June, 1780." He, too, was exonerated, but apparently the disgrace of the trial weighed heavily upon him. On their return to England, he challenged Thomas to a duel — and killed him. Tried for murder, he was acquitted. The Library owns copies of the printed records of both court-martials.

Grenadier Richardson went on to speak of mutual friends:

General Stirling who receiv'd a wound in the Thigh in Elizabeth Town, and refused to undergo Amputation is now past recovery. A few days must put a period to his Existence. In his death I loose a much valued Friend, and the Service a most Excellent Officer. I called to bid Him Adieu, on my parting with Him, he desired whenever I should write to you to make his Compliments and to assure you of his Affectionate Regard.

Leland to whom I delivered your Compliments desires me to return his, and to say that he is much mortified in being confin'd with a bad Leg. He says it was consequence of dancing and a hurting He receiv'd against the Corner of a Stair. I believe its the Gout. But He is too Old to be Young, and too Young to be Old.

Richardson was a bit precipitous in writing off General Thomas Stirling, commander of the 42d or Royal Highland Regiment, who recovered in time, and was in fact made baronet in 1794. He died on his estate in Scotland in 1808. John Leland was Brigadier-General of the First Regiment of the Guards, and had served as presiding officer at Colonel Thomas's court-martial.

The letter closes on personal matters:

I take the liberty to congratulate you on the Increase of your Family. The riches of a State depends on the Number of its

Inhabitants. If 'tis the same with private Families I expect to hear you have the Gout soon.

I really have not forgot the Hams, but can assure you there has been None worth your Acceptance that I could purchase, beg or steal.

To shew you how flush we are in this Country of Spanish Money, I have sent some Counters.

You may expect in a short time to hear from me from the Southward. In the meantime I beg you'll present my best respects to Mrs. Lewis, and the dear Boy, and believe me most sincerely and Affectionately yours ,

F. Richardson

Sir G. Rodney is still here. The Triumph and two other Lines of Battle are just arrived from a Cruise. All hurt from the weather.

Let haste Apologize for this Scraul.

The force sailed from Sandy Hook on October 16, landing at Portsmouth near the mouth of the James River. Lord Cornwallis, however, was still too far south for an effective liaison and the Guards, re-embarking, moved down to Charleston where Brigadier-General O'Hara took command of them. They crossed the Catawba River and fought bravely at the battle of the Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781.

But the end was near, and in the following October Cornwallis made his surrender. Lieutenant Richardson was among the officers of the Guards taken prisoner, and was not released to return to England until May 1783. In 1789 he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. Little information is available about his later career; however he served with the Guards in Flanders in 1794, during the campaign against the French. On October 15 of that year he retired.

ELLEN M. OLDHAM

Thoreau and Timothy Dwight

IT has been said that no other American man of letters read so little American literature as Henry David Thoreau.¹ If this criticism is confined to American *belles lettres*, it is undoubtedly true, for it may be questioned whether Thoreau read even the essays of Emerson to any extent. His acquaintance with American fiction was even more limited. But where his reading lagged in one field, he more than made up for it in others. There are probably few

American authors who have been so widely read in local histories, books of travel and exploration, and colonial and Indian lore. Thoreau read every such work he could discover, making copious notes in the bargain. He never thought of taking one of his frequent excursions across the New England countryside without first informing himself about the history of the entire region he was to visit. Of all such books, one of his favorites was a little-known work, the *Travels in New-England and New-York* by Timothy Dwight.²

Timothy Dwight was president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817. Students of American literature occasionally glance at some of his ponderous volumes of verse, but his far more vivid *Travels* are strangely neglected. Dwight was in ill-health most of the years of his presidency, and at a physician's suggestion spent his vacations in travel through the country. He kept copious notes on each excursion, which were published in four large volumes shortly after his death. Except for an edition issued in London the same year, the work has never been reprinted.

With the possible exception of Barber's *Historical Collections*, the *Travels* is the most frequently quoted book in Thoreau's writings. Unfortunately, the indexes to the complete edition of his works rarely list source material, so it is difficult to make an accurate comparison. But one finds Dwight's book continually referred to. Thus when describing a trip along the upper reaches of the Connecticut River in his *Journals*, he writes:

President Dwight, speaking of the origin of those pot-holes, says, "The river now is often fuller than it probably ever was before the country above was cleared of its forests: the snows in open ground melting much more suddenly, and forming much greater freshets, than in forested ground."³

And in that most charming of his travel essays, *Cape Cod*:

Timothy Dwight says that, just before he arrived at Provincetown, "a schooner came in from the Great Bank with fifty-six thousand fish, almost one thousand five hundred quintals, taken in a single voyage; the main deck being, on her return, eight inches under water in calm weather."⁴

Other instances could be cited without number. But there are indications that Thoreau used Dwight's work not merely for reference material but also as the starting point for some of his thought patterns. The closing paragraphs of *Walden* are familiar:

Every one has heard the story which has gone the rounds of

New England, of a strong and beautiful bug which came out of the dry leaf of an old table of apple-tree wood, which has stood in a farmer's kitchen for sixty years, first in Connecticut, and afterward in Massachusetts, — from an egg deposited in the living tree many years earlier still, as appeared by counting the annual layers beyond it; which was heard gnawing out for several weeks, hatched perchance by the heat of an urn. Who does not feel his faith in a resurrection and immortality strengthened by hearing of this? Who knows what beautiful and winged life, whose egg has been buried for ages under many concentric layers of woodenness in the dead dry life of society, deposited at first in the alburnum of the green and living tree, which has been gradually converted into the semblance of its well-seasoned tomb, — heard perchance gnawing out now for years by the astonished family of man, as they sat round the festive board, — may unexpectedly come forth from amidst society's most trivial and handselled furniture, to enjoy its perfect summer life at last!⁵

Turning to Dwight's *Travels*, one finds the obvious source of the passage:

In September, 1806, I passed through this town [Williamstown, Massachusetts] on a journey to Vermont. While I was here, President Fitch showed me an insect, about an inch in length, of a brown colour, tinged with orange, with two antennae, or feelers, not unlike a rosebug in form, but in every respect handsomer. This insect came out of a tea-table, made of the boards of an apple-tree, and belonging to Mr. Putnam, one of the inhabitants, and a son of the Hon. Major-General Putnam, late of Brooklyn in Connecticut.

I went with President Fitch to Putnam's, to examine the spot, whence the insect had emerged into light. We measured the cavity; and found it about two inches in length, nearly horizontal, and inclining upward very little, except at the mouth. Between the hole, and the outside of the leaf of the table, there were forty grains of the wood. President Fitch supposed, with what I thought a moderate estimate, that the saw-mill, and the cabinet-maker, had cut off at least as many as thirteen more: making sixty in the whole. The tree had, therefore, been growing sixty years, from the time, when the egg was deposited in it, out of which the insect was produced. How long a period had intervened between the day, in which the apple-tree was cut down, and that, in which the table was purchased by Mr. Putnam, is unknown. It had been in his possession twenty years. Of course, eighty years had elapsed between the laying of the egg, and the birth of the insect.

After its birth, it was placed under a tumbler, and attempts

were made, by offering it for sustenance wood of the apple-tree, and bread, to prolong its life. It ate a small quantity of the bread; but, either for want of more proper food, or from being lodged in too cold a temperature, or from some other cause, it died within a few days.⁶

But a more significant idea may have been suggested to Thoreau by his readings of Dwight. Despite his fame as a nature writer, he wrote only one paper which can be rightly considered a scientific treatise. This is "The Succession of Forest Trees," which he first delivered as a lecture before the Middlesex Agricultural Society at Concord in September 1860. As Edward S. Deevey, Jr. has pointed out,⁷ this is one of the earliest studies of ecological succession in America. In it Thoreau showed the alternation of softwood and hardwood tree growth in any given plot of forest land. From the number of references to the subject scattered through his *Journal*, it is obvious that he was working on the problem for a number of years before he delivered his lecture.

Timothy Dwight made at least two references to the problem of the succession of forest trees:

From Windsor [Conn.] the road, leaving Connecticut River, proceeds to Suffield over a plain of yellow pines, about five miles in extent. At the entrance upon this plain, the pines for near a mile were, many years since, entirely cut off: and in their place has sprung up a forest of oaks. Such a change in forest vegetation is not uncommon: yet it is curious; and will hereafter be made a subject of enquiry.⁸

The lands, which have here [Addison, Vermont] been once cultivated, and again permitted to lie waste for several years, yield a rich and fine growth of hickory. Of this wood there is not, I believe, a single tree in any original forest within fifty miles from this spot. The native growth is here white pine; of which I did not see a single stem amid a whole grove of hickory. Similar specimens of an entire change in the forest vegetation are common in many, perhaps in all, parts of New-England, where the land has been cultivated, and again covered with wood. This change is commonly attributed by unthinking, as it has often by thinking, men to equivocal generation: the material elements being supposed to possess a chemical power of originating, and perfecting, vegetation, without the aid of seeds. To support the supposition, however, philosophy, although she has frequently adopted it, has never been able to find a single fact, or allege a particle of positive evidence. The opinion obviously contradicts all known analogy; and is sustained only by that broken reed, *inexplicableness*.⁹

Thoreau, without mentioning Dwight, states his concurrence with him, discussing the idea of spontaneous generation :

When, hereabouts, a single forest tree or a forest springs up naturally where none of its kind grew before, I do not hesitate to say, though in some quarters still it may sound paradoxical, that it came from a seed . . . If any one asserts that it sprang from something else, or from nothing, the burden of proof lies with him.¹⁰

But Dwight went on to say :

The seeds of vegetables, when lodged beneath that thin stratum of earth, within which they germinate, have no apparent tendency to decay ; but continue to possess all their vegetative power through an indefinite number of centuries. When the existing forest is cut down, and its seeds are destroyed by cultivation, those, which were shed by a more ancient growth, being thrown up by the plough within the limits of this stratum, spring in their turn ; and cover the surface with trees of a new kind. The following facts will throw some light on this subject. .

A field, about five miles from Northampton [Massachusetts] on an eminence, called Rail Hill, was cultivated about a century ago. The native growth here, and in all the surrounding region, was wholly oak, chestnut, &c. As the field belonged to my grandfather ; I had the best opportunity of learning its history. It contained about five acres, in the form of an irregular parallelogram. As the savages rendered the cultivation dangerous ; it was given up. On this ground there sprang up a grove of white pines, covering the field, and retaining its figure exactly. So far as I remember, there was not in it a single oak or chestnut tree. Pines were as thick as they could conveniently grow ; and when I first saw them, more than twenty years afterwards, they were large trees ; yet there was not a single pine, whose seeds were, or, probably, had for ages been, sufficiently near to have been planted on the spot. The facts ; that these white pines covered this field exactly, so as to preserve both its extent and figure ; and that there was none in the neighborhood ; are decisive proofs, that cultivation brought up the seeds of a former forest within the limits of vegetation, and gave them an opportunity to germinate. The regularity, and limits, of the process are entirely inconsistent with the doctrine of equivocal generation . . .

If seeds will continue possessed of vegetative life for twenty years, they may, unquestionably, continue possessed of it two hundred, two thousand, or twenty thousand.¹¹

Thoreau refutes this theory, denying that the ungerminated seed

may remain in the soil for indefinite periods of time:

So far from the seed having lain dormant in the soil since oaks grew there before, as many believe, it is well known that it is difficult to preserve the vitality of acorns long enough to transport them to Europe; and it is recommended in Loudon's "Arboretum," as the safest course, to sprout them in pots on the voyage . . . The stories of wheat raised from seed buried with an ancient Egyptian, and of raspberries raised from seed found in the stomach of a man in England, who is supposed to have died sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago, are generally discredited, simply because the evidence is not conclusive.¹²

Thoreau also challenged the statement that a new tree may spring up without a progenitor within the near vicinity:

I assert that if an oak tree has not grown within ten miles, and man has not carried acorns thither, then an oak wood will not spring up *at once*, when a pine wood is cut down . . .

When you cut down an oak wood, a pine wood will not *at once* spring up there unless there are, or have been quite recently, seed-bearing pines near enough for the seeds to be blown from them.¹³

Finally he develops his major point:

In this neighborhood [Concord], where oaks and pines are about equally dispersed, if you look through the thickest pine wood, even the seemingly unmixed pitch pine ones, you will commonly detect many little oaks, birches, and other hard woods, sprung from seeds carried into the thicket by squirrels and other animals, and also blown thither, but which are overshadowed and choked by the pines. The denser the evergreen wood, the more likely it is to be well planted with these seeds, because the planters incline to resort with their foliage to the closest covert. They also carry it into birch and other woods. This planting is carried on annually, and the oldest seedlings annually die; but when the pines are cleared off, the oaks, having got just the start they want, and now secured favorable conditions, immediately spring up to trees.¹⁴

It is obvious that Dwight's *Travels* had stimulated Thoreau in writing his "Succession of Forest Trees." His interest in Dwight was not a pedantic one. The *Travels*, a hundred and twenty-five years after its publication, still holds the interest of the lay reader. No doubt, it is overly long. Yet it is a classic which it would be well to explore further.

WALTER HARDING

Notes

1. Henry Seidel Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston, 1939), 188.
2. Timothy Dwight, *Travels; in New-England and New-York*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1821-22).
3. *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Boston, 1906), XV, 75.
4. Thoreau, *op. cit.*, IV, 212.
5. Thoreau, *op. cit.*, II, 366-67.
6. Dwight, *op. cit.*, II, 398. It should be pointed out that Thoreau also was familiar with another version of this story which is recorded in J. W. Barber's *Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Worcester, 1839, 108-09). Hence his comment, "the story which has gone the rounds of New England." See the present writer's "The Apple-tree Table Tale," *B.P.L.Q.*, for October 1956, 213-15.
7. Edward S. Deevey, Jr., "A Re-examination of Thoreau's 'Walden,'" *Quarterly Review of Biology* for March 1942, 8, 11.
8. Dwight, *op. cit.*, I, 305.
9. Dwight, *op. cit.*, II, 439-40.
10. Thoreau, *op. cit.*, V, 186.
11. Dwight, *op. cit.*, II, 440-42.
12. Thoreau, *op. cit.*, V, 200-01.
13. *Ibid.*, 189, 187.
14. *Ibid.*, 189.

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams

A Controversy in the Classical Tradition

By RICHARD M. GUMMERE

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY disputes in the realm of government came to a climax in the twenty-year-long antagonism of the popular leader who shared with Patrick Henry the first out-and-out appeal for independence and the Massachusetts Bay governor who obstinately but conscientiously defended the British policy. The kernel of their differences could be defined in terms of the ancient canon which was set forth most clearly by Aristotle in his *Politics*, and which holds good today. There is monarchy, with its "perversion," tyranny; there is aristocracy, with its "perversion," oligarchy; there is democracy, with its "perversion," mob-rule or ochlocracy. In New England, the gradual movement toward popular sovereignty, from Hooker to Williams to Wise, reached its climax in the Hutchinson-Adams controversy. The original system in Massachusetts Bay has been defined as a "governing oligarchy" by S. E. Morison, a "theocratic magistracy" by V. L. Parrington, and by John Winthrop himself a "Government Regular in a Mixt Aristocratie and no ways arbitrary." By the mid-eighteenth century the claims of independence were taking form, and the question was: "Who is at the controls, Parliament or the New England town-meeting?" The present writer, making no claim to discuss the intricate politics of the period,

aims primarily to record the extent to which these two Colonial leaders invoked the Greco-Roman tradition in support of their arguments.¹

Sam Adams overworked his town-meeting theory, because the final document, adopted in 1788, turned out to be much more conservative than he approved. Hutchinson obstinately clung to the theory of Royal supremacy with aristocratic management. It must be admitted that both ran to extremes — Adams to his Liberty Boys and the Governor to the concentration of offices in a few hands. But, whatever their mistakes, they were men of outstanding ability, in deadly earnest, devoted to their purposes. Those who call the one merely a sensational rabble-rouser, and the other a snobbish self-seeking oligarch, are mistaken. They were familiar with the best that a Harvard education could give them. They put their classical scholarship to the service of their practical politics. Sam Adams had rounded out his program in the humanities with a master's degree *quaestio* in Latin: "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved, — answered in the affirmative." Hutchinson coasted through his academic program; but after graduation and the perfunctory presentation of a *quaestio* on the value of literature for the enjoyment of travel, reviewed his Latin, acquired French, and read all the while voraciously in local and English history. Adams was a failure in business, Hutchinson a successful merchant. The former, after his activities in the Revolution, suffered an anti-climax, although rewarded several times with the governorship of the state. The royal governor died at London in 1780, loyal to the Bay State after his own fashion. Each was vulnerable before the court of history: the patriot had been more than guilty of carelessness as town tax-collector; and certainly encouraged the mob on more than one occasion. Hutchinson made the mistake in 1762 of holding simultaneously the offices of Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice, President of the Council, and Judge of Probate; although the emoluments of them all amounted to more in prestige than in cash. The positions held at various times by his relatives seem over-weighted: a brother was Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a brother-in-law Lieutenant-Governor, a daughter's

father-in-law Chief Justice, and a son Judge of Probate. Throughout this period of continual dispute Adams was always seeking excuses for attack, while Hutchinson's policy was one of patience and defence. The former wrote or spoke or plotted almost daily; the latter is recorded in his own historical writings and his official papers.

Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* ranks with the best of any annals written by native American Colonials. The motto of the book, taken from the *Letters* of the Younger Pliny, is justified by the impersonal accuracy of the work: "History," said Pliny, "is written not for display, but for truth and honesty."² It is not until the third volume, completed after his withdrawal to England, that he gives way in print to his feelings. He was a frank believer in constitutional monarchy and what Aristotle called "The Rule of the Superior." This idea underlies most of his political utterances, and one can read this aristocratic concept in his apologia: "However dry this account may appear to some readers, . . . it perhaps may excite a laudable ambition in some of the descendants of the first magistrates to merit the honours of their ancestors, for altho' places and titles in the colonies are not hereditary, yet, *caeteris paribus*, the descendants of such as have done worthily have some claim to be distinguished . . ." This statement is accompanied by a passage of similar purport from the *De Officiis* of Cicero, the most widely read Latin book in the colonies, second only to the inevitable Plutarch.³ It was this unconscious assumption of justified and inherited authority that Samuel Adams quoted and tossed out as fuel for the Sons of Liberty to set blazing.

As a student of origins, Hutchinson was an accomplished antiquarian, in the classical style. He refused to believe, with certain pedants, that the Indians were the posterity of the ancient Scythians, or that *Massachusetts*, "the place near the High (Great Blue) Hill," was a derivation from the *Massagetes*, a barbarous tribe of Central Asia. Like William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, he took an anthropological view. Their polytheism was cumulative: "I began to suspect, from this instance of plurality of gods, something like the mythology of the ancients, where Romulus was taken into heaven as a new deity." He noted the existence in their religion of a Cerberus, a snarl-

ing animal which kept the unworthy away from the gates of Paradise. For the Indians to forsake any of their savage customs was an equivalent of the Horatian *naturam expellere*. Their use of wampum instead of money prompted an allusion to the *Germania* of Tacitus: *argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito* — "I do not know whether the gods denied them the use of gold and silver because they wished to make them happy or to curse them." Their fidelity was too often like the *Punica fides*, Carthaginian deceit. "[The Pequods] had never heard the story of Polyphemus and Ulysses, yet they artfully urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country," and consequently sought a union with the Narragansetts, which was prevented by the diplomacy of Roger Williams. They were, like the aborigines of Italy whom Sallust described: *genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum* — "A wild tribe of men, lawless, uncontrollable, loose, and undisciplined."⁴ These were the researches of a scholar, before the political issues had reached a climax.

Apart from his Diary, his letters and his occasional official speeches, the remarks of the Governor about the affairs of his native state were in circulation nearly a decade before his retreat to England in 1774. This unconsciously revealing and well-written history accounts for much of our information on his political views, and for much ammunition in the possession of Samuel Adams, for whom the newspaper was the main medium of communication. Both men applied their classics extensively and pertinently. The Greek and Roman element was second only to the Biblical: for the Celtic and Teutonic tradition did not reach popular dimensions in America until the nineteenth century.⁵

COMMENTING on the failure of community property, Hutchinson repeats the statement of the Plymouth Governor Bradford who remarked "that the ill success of this community of goods even among godly and sober men fully evinced the vanity of that conceit of Plato, that the taking away property and bringing in community into a commonwealth would make them happy."⁶ Humor is not a strong point in the life or the

writings of Thomas Hutchinson: but we detect a modicum of it in his comparison of the early Puritans who were added to the governing group with the *Dii Minorum Gentium*, the second grade of divinities in the Roman religious calendar.

The assumption that readers would understand classical allusions and even technical problems of ancient government was characteristic of the middle and late decades of the eighteenth century, and particularly so in Boston. Hutchinson discusses the question of enlarging the boundaries of the Colony: "There were many judicious persons, who were content with the natural increase of the inhabitants, and with an extension of the *pomeria* only in proportion as the interior parts became crowded" — assuming a knowledge on the part of his readers that the *pomerium* was a narrow no-man's land which ran along the city wall of Rome.⁷ Livy's list of prodigies and portents is invoked when he describes the comets and the Aurora Borealis; but he concludes that "there was no occasion for prodigies or other arts of the priests of old Rome. A judicious discourse from a well chosen text was more rational and had a more lasting effect."⁸

The cautious policy of Stoughton in 1679, avoiding a head-on collision with the London authorities, draws praise from Hutchinson, and prompts him to recall a quite appropriate piece of political philosophy from Cicero: *Nunquam enim, praestantibus in republica gubernanda viris . . .* or, as it may be given here in the writer's translation: "A stubborn adherence to one particular policy is not a mark of great statesmanship: for in a sea voyage it is a matter of skill to adapt your course to the wind, even though this will not take you straight to your desired haven. But if you can accomplish this by tacking, you would be foolish to drive dangerously ahead rather than by altering your course to reach port ultimately safe and sound."⁹

On New England's day of fasting and prayer, kept because of various calamities, he remarks: "Modern historians censure this conduct as weakness. Cato only censured the ancient Romans for not joining their endeavours to their prayers: *Ubi socordiae tete atque ignaviae tradideris, nequicquam deos implores, irati infestique sunt* — "When you surrender yourself to sloth and laziness, you are praying to the gods in vain: they are

angry and hostile to you.”¹⁰ Illustrating the spirit of self-sacrifice, he refers to the Roman hero Manius Curtius who obeyed the soothsayer and plunged into the chasm in the Forum to close it up and save his country. The Stoic doctrine *nil utile quod non honestum* (“Nothing is useful which is not also honorable”) is a proverb frequently and sincerely uttered by the governor, and applied on one occasion with unconscious humor to the depreciated currency which he disapproved and which was one of the causes of his controversy with Sam Adams. When the Assembly brought forward an act to make it illegal to drink the health of King Charles, he fell back on a line from the poet Ovid: *Hoc est ad nostros non leve crimen avos*. (“This is no slight insult to our ancestors.”)¹¹ When a mutiny threatened for want of wages, one of Lucan’s brilliant phrases occurred to him: *Arma tenenti omnia dat qui iusta negat* — “The refusal of just rights is an invitation to armed force.” All these illustrations indicate clearly Hutchinson’s conservatism, seasoned with keen intellectual powers and taste. They also reveal a certain impartiality.

Hutchinson is objective in his criticism. Andros and Dudley come in for severe denunciation of their attitude toward both Council and Assembly. “Nero,” he remarked, “concealed his tyrannical disposition more years than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months.” The same condemnation applied, in a lesser degree, to Dudley: “Ambition was the ruling passion, and perhaps, like Caesar, he had rather be the first man in New-England than the second in the Old”; “No man in our history had seen more of the *temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines* which Cicero, in one of his epistles to Lucceius, says, afford a pleasing narration, however irksome to the man who has the experience of them.” Governor Belcher was a reasonable official, but “He unfortunately attempted to shew the similitude between the case of Cato shut up in Utica, and the Massachusetts-Bay under the restraint of the royal instruction.” Belcher felt that Cato should have submitted to Caesar — “a power he could no longer resist.”¹² The remarks almost got the well-meaning Belcher into trouble; but he explained himself by defining Caesar as a tyrant and the King of England as a protector of his subjects’ liberties. The New Englanders retorted that

the parallel was closer than the Governor was willing to admit!

IT is when Hutchinson tries to define the status of a colony that serious trouble begins. Throughout Colonial history the two standard types — Greek and Roman — were continually being contrasted, usually in favor of the former. The Greek colony, when settled in new territory, was independent of the mother country except for a sentimental tie. Rome, with many varieties of control, treated her citizen-outposts well, but kept the senatorial or imperial provinces on a tight rein, and in many cases taxed them unmercifully. The early Puritans, although they would have no truck with Athenian democracy, specifically approved this Greek idea of colonial freedom. Sam Adams spoke the same language as Winthrop when he held that colonies had a right to “remain in a state of nature” and to work out their own procedures, although his concept of “nature” was far different from the “civil liberty” which Winthrop defined in contrast to what he regarded as license. “Why,” asked Adams, “the conduct of Rome towards her colonies should be recommended as an example to our parent state, rather than that of Greece, is difficult to conjecture . . . Greece was more generous and a better mother to her colonies than the former . . . And we are willing to render to Great Britain respect and certain expressions of honor and reverence as the Grecian colonies did to the city from whence they deriv’d their origin, as Grotius says, *so long as the colonies were well treated*.”¹³

Hutchinson’s attitude was exactly the opposite. He records with high approval an address to the King in 1679: “As a British colony they humbly hope for all that tenderness and indulgence from a British parliament which the Roman Senate, while Rome remained free, showed to Roman colonies.” Describing the tactful dealings with the British government and the cautious official letter of 1644, he comments: “We shall find the authority here, acquiescing under every change of government in England. When we consider the dependance of a colony upon its mother country, nothing less is ordinarily to be expected.”¹⁴ A few years later Alexander Hamilton struck the independent note in his essay *The Farmer Refuted*: “The practice of Rome

towards her colonies cannot afford the shadow of an argument . . . The treatment of her dependent provinces is one of the greatest blemishes in her history . . . The right of colonists to exercise a legislative power is an inherent right." John Adams, more conservative than Samuel in his views on democracy, made his early reputation by his answer as *Novanglus* to the *Massachusetts* articles of Daniel Leonard. The latter had tried "to reconcile the citizens to Mr. Bernard over the name of *Philanthrop* and to prove Mr. Hutchinson a patriot over the name of *Philaethes*." In the first number of the *Novanglus* series, these words of John might perfectly well have been written by Samuel: "Revolution principles are the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, and Sidney, Harrington, and Locke; the principles of nature and eternal reason; the principles on which the whole government over us now stands."¹⁵

These bland statements by Hutchinson, alternating with attempted vetos and occasional declarations of policy, irritated the Town Meetings and the Liberty Boys. Sam Adams regularly, and James Otis irregularly, retorted with emphatic denunciation. "I doubt," said the Governor, "whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a colony 3,000 miles distant, shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state." "In a remove from the state of nature to the most perfect state of government, there must be a great restraint of natural liberty." Or, "The government in every colony, like that of the colonies of Old Rome, may be considered as an *effigies parva* (miniature copy) of the mother state." In the third volume of the *History*, published during his exile, Hutchinson expressed his bitterness over the exposure and printing of his famous confidential letters to a member of Parliament, made public and exaggerated by Adams after some patriotic but questionable work by Franklin. It is characteristic of him to cite Cicero on the sacredness of confidential communications: "How could anyone who had the slightest iota of good taste make public a letter written him by a friend, which contained matter provocative of controversy?" One sympathizes with his difficult position as a servant of the Crown; but one can also understand the objection of the Caucus Club, the tax-payers, and John Adams himself, to such a blandly tactless statement as the following:

"In our mother country, when disputes arise between the branches of the legislature upon their respective rights, parties are formed and the body of the people are divided; for in a well-constituted government it is of importance to the people that the share even of the popular part of the constitution should not be unduly raised to the suppression of the monarchical or aristocratical parts."¹⁶

He goes deep into provincial history, insisting that the new charter, brought back by Increase Mather, entitled him and his brother-in-law Oliver to be members of the Council: "The governor was fully persuaded that both lieutenant-governor and secretary were designed by the charter to be of the council, and that Mr. Mather, the agent, who was consulted in framing the charter, had pitched upon the number twenty-eight, in imitation of Lysurgus' senators, who were alike in number, and being added to the two kings, who only retained a voice with the other senators, made up thirty."¹⁷ This comparison is perhaps far-fetched, but it indicates clearly the type of government which Hutchinson approved, and the more than Roman concept of a dependent company controlled by the *aristoi* and possessed of the veto power as in the earliest days of the colony.

DURING the two decades of this struggle between two diametrically opposite interpreters of colonial management, Hutchinson shows no less sincerity than Adams in his defence of the policy which he called aristocratic and which his enemy regarded as out-and-out oligarchy. He speaks, so to say, in a low voice, but never compromises. He quietly remarks: "In the 27th and 29th books of Livy we find an instance of refractoriness in the Roman colonies not altogether unlike to that of the British colonies, and of the spirited and successful doings of the Roman Senate upon that occasion."¹⁸ In the same vein, but quite objectively, he touches again and again on the rivalry for office between the "patricians" and the "plebeians" in the Puritan colony, which settled itself by gradual accommodation. John Trumbull had remarked to his son: "Connecticut is not Athens"; and Hutchinson said to a friend, with bitter memories of several Boston mobs: "Remember, you do not live in the Common-

wealth of Plato!" He also called the local gangs "the dregs of Romulus." George Wythe was more inclusive when he warned a session of the Continental Congress: "Americans will hardly live without trade: *Faece Romuli non Republica Platonis.*"¹⁹ The parallel with Cato was familiar to all readers of Plutarch through Cicero's description of the Old Roman, who gave an opinion *tamquam in Platonis Politeia, non tamquam in Romuli faece.*

In 1774 Hutchinson retreated to England from an untenable position, from a province which he loved no less than did Sam Adams, though he had obeyed orders with which he did not agree, often in danger of his life. He lamented the death of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, with a characteristic reminiscence of Cicero — *Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus; sed ii tamen rempublican casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non arrepta L. Crasso a diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur* — "This was a stroke mournful to his friends, afflicting to his country, and heavy to all worthy patriots; but the calamities which soon after happened to the state were such that to me it appears, the gods cannot be so properly said to have deprived L. Crassus of life, as to have rewarded him with death."²⁰ His ancestors had conquered a wilderness, and he had begun his History of the Bay Colony with a reference to a sentence in the *Germania* of Tacitus: "Who would remove and settle in so remote and uncultivated a part of the globe, if he could live tolerably at home? . . . Apart from the perils of the sea, who would cleave to a country that is so forbidding and unattractive, unless it were his native land?"²¹ He still looked homeward after his remove. He wrote to a relative in 1775: "I make no pretence to Scipio's merit, and consequently cannot complain of the like ingratitude, but if I could I should not say *nec ossa habebis*, as he did."²² His nostalgia is like that of Governor Dudley, who, scheming in England to get the appointment, "had a passion for laying his bones there (in New England), which equalled that of the ancient Athenians." "How truly happy would they, the New-Englanders, have been, had they known how blest they were."²³

He seemed at the end quite free from rancor, if not from sorrow, even against "The Grand Incendiary," Sam Adams, whom, with his henchmen, he had called "Psalm-singing Myrmidons."

His exact mind reverted primarily to what he regarded as infractions of the law. In 1774 he had complained, after the impeachment of Oliver, that his opponent was "stripping the government of all authority and setting up a new Constitution by the grossest falsities and misrepresentations." Before his death in England he mildly rebuked a former governor for criticizing him, with an epigram from Martial; he offered sensible advice to the British, which they did not take; and he eased his soul with the well-known proverb from Tacitus "You hate one whom you have wronged." "Evil gossip," said the Roman historian, "when ignored, fades away, but when angrily denounced seems to be acknowledged as true."²⁴ It was one of the penalties of office-holding that, as he complained, *Gubernatorum vituperatio populo placet* — "the public enjoy slandering their governors." At the news of his death an outburst of classical opprobrium appeared in the American newspapers — notably in the *Independent Chronicle* for January 4, 1781. One of the dramatic ironies on our human stage is the award to Thomas Hutchinson of an honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree by Oxford University on *July Fourth, 1776!*

(*To be concluded*)

Notes

1. For Hutchinson, see his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. L. S. Mayo (Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 3 vols.; *The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.*, ed. P. O. Hutchinson (London, 1884), 2 vols.; *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Vol. VIII, ed. C. K. Shipton (Boston, 1951); J. K. Hosmer, *The Life of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston, 1896); Alden Bradford, *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1775* (Boston, 1818), 194ff.

For Samuel Adams, see *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, ed. H. A. Cushing (New York, 1904-1908), 4 vols.; *Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda*, by J. C. Miller (Boston, 1936); *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Vol. X, ed. C. K. Shipton (Boston, 1958); J. K. Hosmer, *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1896); W. V. Wells, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1865), 3 vols.

In general, see Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1955), with emphasis on the democratic unity of the Massachusetts opponents of prerogative; S. E. Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (New York, 1956), es-

pecially 82-85; Philip G. Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1941); C. F. Mullett, *Some Political Writings of James Otis* (Univ. of Missouri Studies, IV, nos. 3 and 4, 1929); V. L. Parrington, chapters on Hutchinson and Adams in his *Colonial Mind, 1620-1800* (New York, 1927), 194-206 and 233-47.

2. Pliny, *Epistulae*, VII, 33. (From memory, with some alterations. The same adaptation of Pliny is found in William Hubbard's *History of New England*, Boston, 1848, preface, xvi: "For the matter of the History, plainness and truth are more attended to therein than elegance of wit or any sophistical garnish.")

3. Hutchinson, *History*, II, 11; Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 13.

4. *History*, I, 384-407, 53, etc.; Tacitus, *Germania*, 5; Sallust, *Catiline*, 6.

5. See, for example, R. F. Seybolt, "Student Libraries at Harvard, 1763-1764," in *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVIII, April 1933, 450ff.

6. *History*, II, 361.

7. *History*, III, 8. This same figure of the *pomerium* is used by William Hubbard (*op. cit.*, xl).

8. *History*, I, 195 and 41.

9. *Ibid.*, I, 275 and Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, I, 9, 21.

10. *History*, I, 198. For Cato's complaint, see Sallust, *Catiline*, 52, 29.

11. *History*, I, 188; Ovid, *Tristia*, II, 472; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 349.

12. *History*, I, 301; II, 160; Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, V, 12, 4; and *History*, II, 281-82.

13. Cushing, *op. cit.*, II, 262.

14. *History*, I, 273 and 117.

15. John Adams, *Works*, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1851), IV, 15.

16. *History*, III, 293-99; *Diary and Letters*, I, 512, 549, 577; Hosmer (Hutchinson), 281, 332; Hosmer (Adams), 223; Cicero, *Philippics*, II, 4; R. E. Brown, *op. cit.*, 256 (Mass. Archives, xxvi, 338). *History*, II, 175.

17. *History*, II, 53 and III, 128.

18. Uprisings in Spain, Greece, Sicily, and Tarentum encouraged by Hannibal; Hosmer (Hutchinson), 230.

19. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 3; Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, II, 1, 8; Petronius, no. 82 in Emil Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*. Wythe in *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C., 1906), VI (1776), 1071.

20. *History*, III, 326-327; Cicero, *De Oratore*, III, 28, translated by William Guthrie (Boston, 1822).

21. *History*, I, 3 and Tacitus, *Germania*, 2.

22. "I will not be buried there" — from *Diary and Letters*, I, 450-51; also see II, 174 and 257. For a Ciceronian reference to "Home Thoughts from Abroad," *ibid.*, I, 314. The same idea was expressed by John Winthrop: R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1869), II, 122. For some further classical reminiscences, see *Diary and Letters*, I, 122, 463, and 478.

23. "O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint—/ Nov-Anglicanos!" *Diary and Letters*, II, 48; Vergil, *Georgics*, II, 458 — a frequent apostrophe, as in the 1767 Almanac of Nathaniel Ames.

24. Martial, *Epigram*, III, 9; J. C. Miller, *op. cit.*, 298, 85, 239; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 42 and *Annals*, IV, 34; *Diary and Letters*, II, 272, I, 578, II, 215, and 186.

The *Teuerdank* of Emperor Maximilian

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

“**W**HOEVER does not create remembrance in this life, has no remembrance after death and is forgotten with the tolling of the bell” — this sentence from the Emperor Maximilian’s *Weisskunig* serves as a clue to his *Teuerdank* and to all his literary and artistic endeavors. To make his fame secure, he embarked on an ambitious program of publications, devoting to it much of his time and thought during the last twenty years of his life. Of all the projected books, only the *Teuerdank* was completed before the Emperor’s death, but this magnificent, richly illustrated volume, reprinted many times since its first appearance in 1517, has sufficed to keep his literary memory alive. The Boston Public Library has been fortunate to obtain a splendid copy of the first edition — a major addition to its rare book collections.

Maximilian I, Archduke of Austria and Emperor-Elect of the Holy Roman Empire (born in 1459 and died in 1519), lived in a period when the last vestiges of the Middle Ages were fading away, and he himself was a typical figure of that era. He has been called “the last of the knights”; the romantic side of the Middle Ages appealed deeply to him, and his books reflect his delight in chivalry. The *Teuerdank* shows him, as in a medieval romance, undergoing manifold dangers to win his lady. In real life, he ruled like a feudal lord, setting the glory of the Hapsburg dynasty above the welfare of the nation. Yet in his desire for distinction and in the multiplicity of his interests, Maximilian was a man of the Renaissance. In addition to armed combats and hunting, he acquainted himself with many crafts, took an interest in music, learned seven languages (according to his own claim at least), patronized the arts, and educated himself by reading and by conversation with learned men. He reformed the University of Vienna, replacing the outmoded medieval curriculum and bringing in humanists as professors. He is also credited with modernizing warfare by setting up a standing army, the “Landsknechte,” and inventing new weapons.

Ironically enough, the books which were so carefully planned to preserve an idealized portrait for posterity also show up the Emperor's chief defects, namely, an inordinate vanity, and a weakness for grandiose schemes which he lacked the persistence to carry through. In politics, his plans for conquest involved him in unsuccessful wars with Italy and France, and his life-long desire to lead a crusade against the Turks was never fulfilled. In the literary field, his vast projects were left largely uncompleted.

The plans were indeed ambitious. They involved over a hundred books, each contributing in some way to Maximilian's own fame or that of his dynasty. The three most important, celebrating his own exploits, were the *Weisskunig*, a historical romance relating the marriage of the Emperor's father, Frederick III, and his own education, marriage, and early rule; the *Teuerdank*, an allegorical account of his journey in 1477 to marry Maria of Burgundy; and the *Freidal*, which portrays the tournaments and festivities in which he had taken part. These were to be supplemented by a genealogy of his family; a book on the "Hapsburg Saints"; the *Ehrenporte* or "*Triumphal Arch*", a huge woodcut made up of ninety-two blocks, the work of Dürer; and the *Triumphzug* or *Triumphwagen*, an elaborate festal procession pictured in woodcuts. Other books were planned to cover a variety of subjects — hunting, fishing, even cooking.

In order to accomplish all this, a small army of collaborators was enlisted, including scholars, secretaries, writers and revisers, artists and woodcutters. Dr. Conrad Peutinger, the Augsburg humanist, was placed in charge of practical details, such as negotiations with the printers. As artists, Maximilian chose some of the best of the time, Dürer, Burgkmair, and Schäufler among them. To translate their designs into wood-blocks, a special establishment was set up under Jost de Negker (Dienecker) of Antwerp, and the Augsburg printer Schönsperger the Elder was selected to print the books.

As the work began, every detail was controlled by the Emperor. He drew up the plan of each book, dictated much of the text, revised the various versions, determined the subjects of the woodcuts, and passed on each before it was printed. By the time of his death a tremendous amount of work had been accomplished, but, apart

Wieder berümbt Held Teurdanneth an dritten pass /
den Nendelhart Inn hec kumbt vnd was Im für gefesli-
chaiten begegneten.



*Teuerdank Arrives at the Third Mountain-Pass
(Greatly Reduced)*

from the *Teuerdank*, all remained in various stages of incompleteness. Maximilian left directions in his will for the publication of the other volumes, but nothing was done, except that his grandson Ferdinand saw to the printing of the *Ehrenpforte* and the *Triumph*. Not until late in the nineteenth century were all the existing works finally published at Vienna in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchstens Kaiserhauses*.

THE earliest mention of the *Teuerdank* occurs in the Emperor's memorandum-book for 1505, at which time work on the illustrations was about to start. Several versions of the text preceded the final one; Siegmund von Dietrichstein, keeper of the silver-plate, seems to have been working on one in 1512; two years later, Marx Treitzsaurwein, the Emperor's private secretary, completed another; the final reworking was done by the Provost Melchior Pfintzing, who signed the dedication to King Charles of Spain, the Emperor's grandson, on March 1, 1517.

As has been said, the *Teuerdank* recounts in poetical and allegorical form Maximilian's wedding-journey. The knight *Teuerdank* represents Maximilian himself; Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, is King Ruhmreich, and his daughter Mary is Ehrenreich. At the beginning of the story the widowed Ruhmreich is pressed by his counselors to select a husband for his daughter, but he delays the choice until, feeling death approaching, he names *Teuerdank*. Ehrenreich, now Queen, sends a messenger to summon the knight, who accordingly sets out, accompanied only by his faithful companion Ehrenhold. The journey is a perilous one; three of the Queen's captains — Fürwittig, Unfalo, and Neidelhart — plot to encompass the hero's death out of fear of losing their own power. At the first mountain-pass, Fürwittig persuades the travelers to await a letter from the Queen. In the meantime he invites *Teuerdank* to go hunting, and proceeds to lead him into a series of dangers from wild animals, falling rocks, etc. *Teuerdank* suspects nothing until, after ten such accidents, Fürwittig entices him onto thin ice, hoping to drown him. The knight suddenly awakes to the treachery, upbraids and strikes the villain, who manages to escape.

The pattern is repeated with Unfalo and Neidelhart. More hunting adventures ensue; Unfalo tricks the knight into climbing an unsafe stairway; brings him into peril from explosions of gunpowder, from faulty weapons, and from mishaps at sea. When Teuerdank falls sick, Unfalo calls in an unskilled doctor, but the hero cures himself. Only when Unfalo nearly burns him alive while he is asleep in a wooden chamber, does Teuerdank recognize at last the captain's machinations. A woodcut shows the mounted knight clutching Unfalo by the neck, but that villain too, like Fürwittig, runs away. The knight now resolves not to tempt God further by taking unnecessary risks; however, Neidelhart succeeds in drawing him into new dangers, chiefly of a warlike nature. Of course Teuerdank emerges unscathed and finally reaches the Queen, but his trials are not over even then. The three captains arrange to have him challenged by six champions; he vanquishes all of them and the villains are executed. Teuerdank may marry the Queen — after he has led a crusade against the Turks.

It must be admitted that this long series of adventures provides monotonous reading, and Teuerdank in his innocence resembles *Candide* rather than the wise knight he was intended to portray. The style adds nothing to our enjoyment, for the eight-syllable rhymed couplets are wooden and uninspired.

Truth and fiction are mingled in the tale. The journey as described, of course, never took place. However, Mary of Burgundy did have many suitors as in the poem, and her father did delay his decision, dying before the marriage took place. It is also true that she sent for Maximilian, and that two of her courtiers, bribed by the French king, Louis XI, tried to prevent the marriage and were executed for treachery. Many of the adventures, as well as the two illnesses of the hero, reflect events in Maximilian's life. Otto Bürger, in his book *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Teuerdank* (Strassburg, 1902) shows that some of them repeat incidents found in the Latin autobiography of the Emperor. Traits of Maximilian's character are also mirrored in the *Teuerdank*. As R. W. Seton-Watson remarks in his *Maximilian I: Holy Roman Emperor* (Westminster, 1902): "His over-confidence, both in his own capacity and in the honesty of others, received many a rude shock, and often made him the dupe of his intellectual inferiors."

Melchior Pfintzing explains in a note at the end that the names of the characters have been changed to avoid the accusation of flattery towards living people, and because "it is not necessary for the common man to understand it all"; besides, the old books of heroes employed fictitious names. However, he furnishes a key to the work, indicating by initials the identity of the characters, and naming the place where each adventure took place.

The allegorical element was intended to create a lofty poetic effect. According to Pfintzing, the name *Teuerdank*, which may be translated as "noble or knightly thought," indicates that the youth had given all his thoughts to knightly matters. His companion *Ehrenhold* embodies truth and honor, and follows *Teuerdank* to bear witness to his life and deeds. On his garments appears the wheel of fortune. The three captains represent the three ages of man: *Fürwittig* stands for the incautious rashness of youth; *Unfalo* for the accidents which befall the mature man; and *Neidelhart* for the envy aroused by the older man's position. These allegorical ideas are very imperfectly reflected in the story. Maximilian is a young man throughout, and *Neidelhart* looks no older than *Fürwittig*. A slight attempt has been made to divide the various episodes into accidents due respectively to rashness, to other misfortunes, and to envy on the part of others, but the distinction is by no means clear. The idea of the three ages of man has simply been superimposed on the tale of the wedding journey.

Supernatural elements occur in the form of the claw-footed devil, disguised as a scholar, who gives the knight bad advice at the beginning of his quest, and in the angel who encourages him to undertake the crusade, and furnishes him with good advice. A hint of sorcery is seen in the wand and inscribed tablet carried by *Unfalo*.

The whole theme of the book is summed up by Otto Bürger as an interpretation of Maximilian's life in terms of a battle with the wicked world for human and divine honor, which he finally obtains through the help of God, in spite of the unlucky stars which presided over his birth.

THE outstanding value of the *Teuerdank*, as may be sus-

pected, is artistic rather than literary. It is a folio volume of 580 pages, printed in a type specially designed by the calligrapher Vincent Rockner to imitate the court writing of the time, with great sweeping flourishes for the lines at the top and bottom of the page. Schönsperger had already printed one book in "fraktur," the *Diurnale* of 1514; but in the *Teuerdank* he outdid himself. The effect was considered magnificent as late as the nineteenth century, but nowadays it appears altogether flamboyant. Daniel B. Updike in his *Printing Types*, certainly wastes little affection upon it. "Ingenious and splendid as is the effort of the typesetter to imitate the work of the pen," he comments, "the result is hardly worth the trouble . . . These types are characteristically German — which is, artistically, seldom a compliment."

There are 118 illustrations, one for each chapter. Each measures $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Maximilian appears in action in most of them, usually with Ehrenhold and one of the three wicked captains as onlookers. Sometimes an attendant or two is present, and in the court and battle scenes groups of people appear. There are many mountain scenes, and modern mountaineers would be interested in the hero's equipment: the spikes on his shoes and the long pole which enables him to swing from rock to rock. Other prints show the furnishings of the time — beds, chests, chairs, stoves.

The artists had little freedom in designing these illustrations, as subject-matter, arrangement, and details were all specified by the Emperor. Corrections were made in almost half the blocks by cutting out and replacing parts of them. Some of these changes were probably due to the fact that the character of Fürwittig was introduced after the work had begun.

Formerly all the woodcuts were ascribed to Hans Schäußelein; a few bear his monogram, and no other artist's signature occurs. In his edition of 1679, Mathäus Schultes identified him as the artist, and Richard Muther still accepted the attribution in his *Deutsche Bücherillustration* of 1884, basing his judgment on the unity of impression made by the prints. The definitive work on the subject of attributions, Simon Laschitzer's introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Teuerdank* published in 1888, assigns twenty illustrations to Schäußelein, thirteen to Burgkmair, and twenty-seven to Beck, leaving eight unidentified.

Of the three artists, Leonhard Beck, a master-painter at Augsburg, drew then more than half the illustrations; many of the corrections in other cuts are also by his hand. His work on the *Teuerdank* began about 1513 and continued to the end. Some of the blocks have his signature on the back, and a stylistic study of these, as well as of some signed cuts in the *Weisskunig*, permits the identification of his unsigned work. Beck's work varies in quality; sometimes his drawing is careful, at others careless and incorrect. In some of his pictures the faulty proportions produce a strange effect, as in no. 64, where the castle in the foreground is dwarfed by an approaching boat. One of his best cuts is perhaps no. 11, where Teuerdank and Ehrenhold are setting out on horseback, against a background of mountains and castles. It shows one peculiarity of the artist's drawing of horses, namely the exaggerated backward curve of the front legs. In addition to the *Teuerdank*, Beck did all the illustrations for the *Hapsburg Saints*, and worked on several other books for the Emperor.

Hans Schäufolein's designs are on a considerably higher artistic level. This artist, born about 1480, probably at Nuremberg, worked in Dürer's studio in his youth, and painted the altarpiece of Ober St. Veit from that great artist's designs. His first book-illustrations were made for Pinder's *Beschlossen Gart des Rosenkranzes Marie* ("The Closed Garden of the Virgin's Rose-Garland"). His work on the *Teuerdank* seems to have been done at an early period, perhaps before the division of the story into three parts, as in many of his cuts the heads have been corrected by Beck. One of the distinguishing marks of his work is the shading, for which he uses many short curved lines, often cross-hatched. Among Schäufolein's contributions is a picture of the knight on a high curtained bed, wearing hunting-dress and hat, while a servant brings him water and Unfalo and Ehrenhold stand by (no. 70). In the cut of a tournament riders and horses lie in a tangle on the ground; a band plays, people watch, and Ehrenhold and Neidelhart are as usual around (no. 105).

The woodcuts by Burgkmair (1473-1531) are the finest in the book, and are rated among the best of his work. An outstanding figure in the German Renaissance, Burgkmair was equally

noted as painter and as creator of woodcuts. For Maximilian he did many of the illustrations for the *Genealogy*, the *Weisskunig* and the *Triumph*. Seven of the thirteen cuts which he made for the *Teuerdank* are skillfully done mountain scenes. In one (no. 22) the hero is hanging to a cliff by his hands, while his legs dangle in the air, and three or four chamois look down at him from high rocks; in another (no. 36) an avalanche tumbles down in front of his horse, which draws back on its haunches. Again (no. 47) the knight is riding across a rocky plateau, the setting giving a real feeling of distance and height. The indoor scenes, including the trial of the three villains (no. 109) and the appearances of the "angelic spirit" (nos. 114 and 115) are also well executed. The last cut in the book, also by Burgkmair, shows *Teuerdank* standing on a circle made by swords captured from the Turks, with Ehrenhold impassively attending him.

The Library's copy, one of those printed on paper, which seem to comprise the first issue, is in splendid condition. The first edition of the *Teuerdank* has become very rare, especially copies in good condition and complete with the eight folios of the Key. Many copies have been badly cropped by the binder, often cutting off parts of the type in the lower as well the upper margin. The Library is therefore fortunate in the acquisition of this superb and uncut copy, bound in contemporary stamped pig-skin over boards.

The second edition of the *Teuerdank* was published by Schönsperger in 1519. Five other followed before the end of the century, and there were two in the seventeenth century. It was not reprinted again until 1836; there were five editions between that year and 1888, the last being the facsimile edition. The Library owns a copy of the fifth edition, published in 1563 at Frankfurt by the heirs of Christian Egenolf. This is a much smaller volume than the original; it contains the same woodcuts, but in a less clear state. One may note that the volume once belonged to George Ticknor.

Early Women Printers of America

(Continued from the January and April 1958 issues)

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

Margaret Draper, the Loyalist

OF the four women printers who were at work at the outbreak of the American Revolution, only one was a Loyalist — Margaret Draper. Born in May 1727 in Boston, she was married in May 1750 to Richard, son of John Draper and grandson of Bartholomew Green. The latter was the son of Samuel Green, Stephen Day's successor at the Cambridge press and founder of the famous Green family of printers. Margaret Draper may have been a grand-daughter of Bartholomew Green also and thus a cousin of her husband. Richard Draper had learned printing under his father, working with the latter until his death in 1762, and afterwards carried on the family firm.

Richard Draper was official printer to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay and remained loyal to the British cause till his death in 1774. Perhaps the most important of his enterprises was the famous *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter*, established in 1704 and throughout its long history intimately connected with the Green-Draper family, for Bartholomew Green had been printer of the paper from its inception, taking over as editor and publisher in 1723.

Massachusetts, home of the earliest colonial press, was far better equipped than many other sites to support printers; and, in spite of much competition, Richard Draper was apparently a well-to-do man, erecting, as Isaiah Thomas relates, "a handsome brick house on a convenient spot in front of the old printing house in Newbury Street, in which he resided."⁵⁴ The Drapers were childless; however, probably after 1766, they adopted Margaret's niece, Margaret Collier. They also took into their home, as an apprentice and later as journeyman printer, Edward Draper, son of Richard's uncle, Samuel Draper. In 1765 the Drapers were admitted to full communion in the West Church of Boston. She was deeply attached to Dr. Jonathan

Mayhew, their pastor, and there are still extant two of her letters to her cousin James Green of Providence, one apparently describing the death of the Doctor's only son and the other on the last illness of the minister himself. The first begins, "I haveing a Leasure hour and I think it cant be spent more to my Sattersfaction then in Writing to you. You know I promist it last week to inform you how our Doct behaved at the Death of his only Son and let me tel you it was with all the composure of a Christon. The Sabbath after he pretched from those words . . ." Margaret's spelling was based entirely upon her own system of phonetics. It is obvious that she never had to set type.

Richard Draper is said to have been sickly throughout his life; certainly his health was poor in his later years. On May 5, 1774, he was forced to announce in his paper: "The Publisher and Printer of this paper being in a very low state of health, prevents his making such collection of intelligence and speculation, as his customers must have expected to be given them . . . A Printer that understands collecting news, and carrying on a news paper, by applying to the Printer hereof, may be concerned on very advantagious terms." The partner selected, and announced one week later, was John Boyle, associated in printing and binding for the firm since 1769.⁵⁵ In less than a month Richard's disease proved fatal, and on June 5, 1774, his "innocent, exemplary and useful life . . . was terminated by a lingering consumptive disorder."

His widow announced that she would continue to carry on the paper with the assistance of John Boyle. "Those who have hitherto been customers to this paper will be continued as usual; and the utmost endeavors will be taken to maintain the character it has had for upwards of seventy years past."⁵⁶ Edward Draper continued to work at the press and there were, besides, two apprentices. With the issue of August 4, however, the partnership with John Boyle was dissolved. Although no reason was given for the separation save that of "mutual consent," Mrs. Draper later testified that Boyle left her employ because of the frustration of his desire to "make her newspaper subservient to the party of rebellion."⁵⁷ In her public announcement the following week, she informed her readers that she was

to continue the paper herself, hoping that she "shall meet with such assistance as may enable her to keep up the credit which the paper had for a long time sustained in the days of her deceased husband."⁵⁸ For the next year, therefore, the heading of the paper continued as simply *Draper's*.

During these months Mrs. Draper was endeavoring to settle her husband's estate. By the terms of his will, his entire property was left to her, including the reversion of the house and land currently occupied by his step-mother, Elizabeth Draper, and Mr. John Loring.⁵⁹ At the end of October she advertised for sale "for the sterling cost and charges" a large new font of pica and one of Great Primer "as neat as was ever imported from England." These types had been purchased from the Caslon firm of London by Richard Draper shortly before his death, at the request of Governor Hutchinson, for printing a new law book. Probably because of the unsettled conditions of the time, there were no purchasers in Boston, and eventually the types were resold to Caslon for £20, a loss of £46-9-4. When Margaret presented her inventory of the estate in December, 1774, the total was valued at £973-4-8. The largest items included:

Printing Press and letters and utensils in printing office	£105-5-2
Revenue of a house in Cornhill	200 - -
The mansion house, printing office, and other buildings	500 - - ⁶⁰

Mrs. Draper issued several pamphlets on contemporary affairs, such as General Charles Lee's *Letter to General Burgoyne* and *The Interest of the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain . . . Considered*. The largest work from her press was William Windham's *A Plan of Exercise for the Militia*, a volume of over one hundred pages. She also continued to print broadsides for the Governor. Like her husband, she emphasized in the *Gazette* the British point of view. Since the other newspapers were more sympathetic to the colonists, she found herself on several occasions attacked by her competitors. In her replies she showed herself to be of a restrained nature and, according to her lights, a firm upholder of the freedom of the press.

In January 1775 Isaiah Thomas, in the *Massachusetts Spy*, accused her of publishing a false report of a recent Barnstable

town meeting. She did not feel she could ignore his intimations "lest our customers should therefrom be induced to think that we are so attached to a party, as to insert any intelligence which we know to be false for the sake of gratifying that party." She went on to explain that her information had come from a usually well-informed source, and trusted that the present report of a later town-meeting

will appear much more forceable for the truth of [the proceedings] than the bare assertions of these paragraph writers to the contrary, and their unmanly attacks upon a woman. And our customers may be assured that when intelligence of any kind is to be communicated, it shall be done with that fairness and impartiality which hath always distinguished the *Massachusetts-Gazette*.⁶¹

It was not only the local publishers who looked askance at the Loyalist slant of the *Massachusetts Gazette*. Just two days later than Mr. Thomas's criticism, the Convention of Committees for the county of Worcester passed a resolution condemning a number of printers, including Draper of Boston, for assisting "the enemies of these united colonies," and recommending a boycott of such newspapers. Mrs. Draper's reply is worth quoting here:

The Printers of this paper are at a loss how to reconcile this resolve of the Committees of the County of Worcester, with the Declaration of the Continental Congress, who in their address to the Canadians say, that the Liberty of the Press is one of those "Rights without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased." This glorious privilege which every one has a right to enjoy, and which has been productive of such inestimable blessings, is in a most glaring instance struck at in this resolve, and the printers pointed out as inimical to their country who have not conformed so far to the dogmas of a party, as to refuse to insert lucubrations of those, whose sentiments were unpopular, and who laboured under the disadvantage of being obliged to think different from the generality, with whose welfare their own was most intimately connected. And as every member of the community is interested in all the public measures which are adopted, and as communities as well as individuals, are liable to err. The printers of this paper have not refused to insert the performances of ANY, which were wrote with decency, and free from personal reflections, that so the sentiments of ALL being collected, the conductors of our public affairs might

be lead into those measures that would have a tendency to restore this unhappy country to its former state of quietude and peace, for the return of which, none more ardently wish than the publishers of this Gazette . . .⁶²

But the life of the *Massachusetts Gazette* and Margaret Draper's days in Boston were drawing to a close. With the issue of April 20, 1775, publication was interrupted; on May 18, however, the paper went to press once more, with a notice that continuation would be contingent on the assurance of three hundred subscribers. It was a modest aspiration, since formerly as many as 1,500 copies were printed weekly.⁶³ It was pointed out that due to the siege communication with the outside world was nearly cut off, hence two folio pages were the most that could be expected. Likewise, since there would be few customers at best, the price would be raised to eight shillings a year. On October 13, 1775, the name of John Howe first appeared as printer, while that of Draper disappeared completely. Howe had previously been an employee of Mrs. Draper, and it may be that at this time he bought her out. Be that as it may, the last known number was that of February 22, 1776, although a quotation in the March 4 issue of the *Boston Gazette* shows that at least one more number appeared.⁶⁴

When the British evacuated Boston, Mrs. Draper went with them to Halifax. Her party included five persons—her adopted daughter Margaret and presumably servants. Halifax was an uncomfortable place at best, its facilities overcrowded by the influx of refugees, and probably Mrs. Draper was glad to seize the first chance to continue on to England. As an absentee Loyalist her property in Boston was forfeit, and in April 1779 Richard Devens, Commissary General of Massachusetts, posted bond, together with David Devens, a cooper and Jonathan Harris, a baker, as agent for her property. When Devens filed his inventory nearly a year later, he valued the total at £13,210-12-00. The Newbury Street house and land was appraised at £12,000, the printing press at £400, two frames and the type at £378. Other objects ranged from "one square mahogany table, £36" and "two fire bucketts £6" to "a quantity of wastepaper &c. in the office chamber & up Garrett £40." The courts functioned slowly and it took two more years before the agent's account-

ing was presented, amounting to nearly forty pounds paid out for various legal and business fees, including replacement of a pane of glass.⁶⁵ Richard Devens himself bought the real estate.

At the same time in England, in accordance with an Act of Parliament, Mrs. Draper applied to obtain compensation for her losses from the Crown. She submitted a claim for £2,093, and finally was allowed £920.⁶⁶ Among the affidavits of loyalty on her behalf were those of General Gage, Colonel Nisbet Balfour, and Chief Justice Peter Oliver. The British government granted her a pension of one hundred pounds yearly, which her daughter endeavoured to have increased though without success.⁶⁷

In England, Margaret settled in William Street, Pimlico, where her adopted daughter married James Hamilton. To their child, Margaret, Mrs. Draper willed all her effects and property, including her share of the house and land in Boston still occupied by John Loring (and apparently not appropriated by the Massachusetts government). The exact date of her death is not known; however, her pension ceased in 1804 by which time she was seventy-seven. Her will was admitted to probate in February 1807.⁶⁸

Mary Crouch, Salem Printer

IN South Carolina flourished not only Elizabeth Timothy and her daughter-in-law Anne, but also, in the early years of the Revolution, Mrs. Mary Crouch. The latter seems to have been one of the most enterprising of the eleven women printers; certainly in later years she was the most traveled.

One of four children of David and Mary Wilkinson, she was born in Smithfield, Rhode Island, in 1740. At the age of twenty-two she married Charles Crouch in Providence, and there her daughter Anne was born. Mr. Crouch was a native of Charleston, South Carolina, but his parents were originally from Massachusetts. It is difficult to trace the Crouches in published records, but there was at least one other family of that name in the southern city, and it may have been the presence of relatives that caused Charles's parents to move there. The boy's apprenticeship was served under Peter Timothy —

though after his mother, Elizabeth, had given up active participation in the firm. Unfortunately for his master, Charles Crouch was not a docile assistant and on four different occasions was advertised for as a run-away. Finally in February 1754 Timothy gave up, as he informed Benjamin Franklin:

I discharged my villainous apprentice: gave him two years time, quitted all claims on him for monies received and gamed away, for loss of time, and charges for taking up, etc. etc. etc. A lad very capable of the business, and might have been of vast service to me but for three years has always pulled the contrary way; owing to an unhappy affection for drink, play, and scandalous company.⁶⁹

It was perhaps a year after their marriage that the young Crouches left for Charleston. About this time Charles began his own printing shop, in competition with his former master. He seems to have made a success of the business and was engaged as well in the practice of law. In December of 1765, while the Timothy paper was suspended because of the Stamp Act, he began a newspaper, the *South-Carolina Gazeteer* or, as it was soon called, the *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*. During these years there is little information to be found about the family. Two and possibly three sons were born, and little Anne died. But Mrs. Crouch, at least, never became completely acclimatized to Charleston. As her husband prospered, she found it possible nearly every summer to return to Rhode Island for a visit. Sometimes she went alone with the children; sometimes they appeared among the list of prominent passengers as "Mr. Charles Crouch printer & Lady."⁷⁰

One wonders about the "Mr. Crouch, son of Mr. Charles Crouch" who arrived at Newport from Charleston in July of 1772. If this were the child of Mary, he would have been but eight years old at the most. However, the reference must be to the Charles Crouch who was among the exiles to Philadelphia in 1781, possibly a cousin of the printer. But the Charles Crouch who was buried at King's Church, Providence, in April 1774 may well have been Mary's son, dead on one of their visits north. The last journey undertaken by Charles Sr. was in August 1775, a proposed business trip to Philadelphia. As usual he went by boat, and on the way was drowned.

Crouch had announced the temporary suspension of his

paper before his departure; it did not appear again for three years. What did Mrs. Crouch do in the meantime? Did she return to her family in Rhode Island, or did she carry on her husband's business as best she could, concentrating on "job printing"? Although Evans in his *American Bibliography* indicates that Mrs. Crouch continued her husband's paper under its original title from the time of his death until she left South Carolina in 1780, the evidence as shown in Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, is against this. When, in the late summer of 1778, the publication was revived, it was with the title *Charlestown Gazette* and the imprint "Mary Crouch & Company." No other imprints of hers in South Carolina are known. For nearly a year and a half she made her living from the newspaper, but the siege of Charleston in 1780 put a halt to any attempt at publishing.

Faced with this disaster, Mrs. Crouch went north, all the way to Salem, Massachusetts. It is not known who suggested this distant town; her sponsors may have been Masons if Charles Crouch, like William Rind, was one of the fraternity. The "Proposals for printing" the *Salem Gazette and General Advertiser* were issued on December 6, 1780. Mrs. Crouch speaks of the "Invitation and encouragement of sundry gentlemen of reputation" to establish a printing office in Salem (which had been without one since the removal of Ezekiel Russell to Danvers in 1777). In instituting her new newspaper, she intended to give her readers "a weekly relation of the most remarkable and important occurrences, foreign and domestic, having a particular regard to such matters as shall intimately relate to the safety and welfare of the United States, to the liberty and independence of which the *Salem Gazette* will be ever sacredly devoted." Her pages would also be open to the usual advertisements, to "striking anecdotes, improvements in agriculture," as well as to "judicious remarks and political essays of the learned and ingenious" who are cordially requested to send in their contributions. Her price was fifty cents a quarter, with delivery to local residents; the minimum number of subscribers required would be three hundred.

The first issue of the paper appeared on January 2, 1781; in the meantime she carried out some job-printing for the Masons.

This included tickets of admission to their Hall, and blank notices for their meetings, the earliest of which in the Essex Institute is dated December 11, 1780. From this time, too, comes what appears to be the only separate publication of the press, *A Charge, Delivered at St. Peter's Church, in Salem . . . December 27th, 1780* by Joseph Hiller to the Masons, a pamphlet of eight pages.⁷¹

The time of year was not propitious for beginning a newspaper, for the winter with the resultant delays in mail made it difficult, as Mrs. Crouch pointed out to her readers, to collect "regular intelligence." Therefore the printers would, for the present, insert "such entertaining pieces, and the latest intelligence they can possibly obtain." For this reason, the lead article in the first number (occupying the entire front page) was a reprint from the November 1779 issue of the *London Magazine*, entitled "Edwin and Adela, a Tragick Story." Of the three bits of local news, one was the arrival of a ship, one a marriage account, and one the notice of a Masonic meeting. In succeeding issues Salem news was almost entirely confined to the arrival of ships, though there was an occasional mention of a wedding or a fire. Of the three death notices, two were of Masons, and in June she carried the announcement of a meeting of the Masonic Lodge in Marblehead.⁷²

She frequently advertised for rags: "The highest prices in continental dollars will be given for clean linen or cotton rags at the Printing Office in Salem." Later appeared notices of "a few bolts of English Duck" for sale, followed by "a quantity of quart bottles, by the gross" to be obtained from the printers. The Crouches also were, of course, prepared with all the usual kinds of blanks, the emphasis being on those required by the shipping trade. There were a few books offered from time to time — Bickerstaff's almanac, the New England Primer, and Dilworth's "much approved spelling books" made up the lot.

One wonders just who composed the "Company" of "Mrs. Crouch and Company." Her oldest son may have been about fifteen, and doubtless took his part in the office as an apprentice; Abraham was only thirteen. In one of her earliest papers Mrs. Crouch advertised for "a likely Negro boy, about twelve or fourteen years old, to serve till he is twenty-one years of age."⁷³

But the position for which he was required is not told, and the printer may have been simply an agent for someone else. Anxieties continually beset the firm. There were complaints from subscribers that the Tuesday Salem paper did not reach them till after the Boston papers published on Thursday; this was finally corrected in the spring by the initiation of a private post which, setting out from Salem at eight in the morning, planned to reach Newbury-Port post office by four in the afternoon, passing through Beverly, Wenham, Ipswich, etc.⁷⁴ There were also difficulties in obtaining paper, and finally, on July 3, she was forced to advertise for a journeyman printer, wanted "immediately."

Mary Crouch must have had high hopes for her venture, to induce her to take her family so far from friends and relatives. But the piling up of troubles eventually became too great. In her notice of September 4, 1781, announcing the imminent discontinuation of the paper, she singles out not only the "want of sufficient assistance" but also the "impossibility of procuring houseroom for herself and family to reside near her business." Apparently she left town as soon as she could find a buyer for her press and types — Samuel Hall, who had previously conducted the *Essex Gazette* in the town before moving on to Boston.⁷⁵ She asked those behind in their payments to pay up as soon as possible, Mr. Williams, the Postmaster, being appointed her deputy for the collections.⁷⁶

The rest of Mary Crouch's life is obscure. She went back to Providence, probably living with relatives while the two boys were at school, for Abraham, at least, graduated from Brown University in 1787. Eventually all three returned to Charleston, South Carolina, and there Mrs. Crouch died in October 1818, at the age of seventy-eight. She had made a faithful attempt to carry on her husband's business, but probably her heart was never really in it to the extent found in some of her contemporary lady printers.

A Providence Woman in Baltimore

MARY KATHARINE GODDARD, a Maryland printer like

Dinah Nuthead, has been exhaustively studied by both Lawrence Wroth in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*, 1922, and Joseph Wheeler in *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, 1938. For this brief study one need only summarize their findings. Mary Katharine was born in 1736, four years before her brother William, to Sarah and Giles Goddard of New London, Connecticut. As has been seen, the family moved to Providence in 1762 when William set up the first printing press in that town. Isaiah Thomas remarked of her, as of Ann Franklin's daughters, that she was "an expert and correct compositor of types," and it is reasonable to suppose that, learning something of the trade from her brother, she was able to assist her mother when the latter ran the printing office.

In 1768 the two women joined William in Philadelphia, and there Mrs. Goddard died a short time later. Mary Katharine probably worked with her brother on the *Philadelphia Chronicle*, and apparently was left in charge when, in 1772, he continued south to Baltimore where he founded the *Maryland Journal*. The beginnings of this latter newspaper were impeded by William's recurrent illness, but by February 1774 it was a going enterprise. In that month Mary Katharine, having wound up the affairs of the *Chronicle*, advertised that she would conduct the Baltimore newspaper and printing business of her brother during his absence "on an affair interesting to the common liberties of all America."

The affair was the organization of the Constitutional Post Office, on which our present system is founded. Since he was still occupied by the organizational work a year later, his name was removed from the imprint of the *Journal*. At this period, 1775, Mary Katharine was herself appointed post-mistress of Baltimore, a task which she faithfully carried out for fourteen years.

Late in 1776 William Goddard returned at last to Baltimore, and while he remained in the background (his sister's name alone continued in their imprints), he took an important part in the editorial direction. Yet in June 1779 he formed a partnership with Eleazer Oswald to operate a printing, bookselling, and stationery business in the city, to be conducted "neither in opposition to or in conjunction with" Mary Katharine. Mr.

Wroth believes, however, that the two men continued to be employed by Miss Goddard on the *Journal*, since it is unlikely that their own business was sufficient to support them.

In 1783 William received a large legacy of land, with the proceeds of which he seems to have bought out his sister, for her name disappeared from the *Journal's* imprint after the single issue of January 2, 1784 announced that the paper would be published by "William and Mary Katharine Goddard." It was not until 1792 that Goddard, after a series of partners, finally relinquished the business and retired to a farm in Rhode Island.

Besides her work on the *Maryland Journal*, Mary Katharine did not issue much from her press, though doubtless she had a good trade in blank forms and job printing. Most of her existing imprints are broadsides on contemporary affairs, often relating to the War. She first printed an almanac in 1780, which she continued for several years. After the war, culture appears to have come to Baltimore in a big way, for in 1782 the Goddard firm printed at least seventy-four broadside playbills or theatrical notices. The New Theater opened on January 15 with *King Richard III* and closed December 31 with *Hamlet*; in between had been a wide variety of comedies, tragedies, farces, dances, etc. The last item issued by Mary Katharine was her almanac for 1785, published in deliberate competition with her brother's, after he had ungraciously if legitimately ousted her from the business.

Along with her work in the Post Office and at the printing shop, Miss Goddard had carried on for years a dry-goods and stationery store, to which she added a book-shop. Her later years may be followed to some extent in the Baltimore Directory, which lists her, in 1803, as a store keeper in Chatham Street. By this time she was nearing seventy, and shortly thereafter seems to have retired. She died in 1816, leaving her remaining property to a colored servant. "In the old burial ground of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore," Mr. Wroth writes, "lies the body of this New England woman who served her adopted Maryland in a way and to a degree that no woman of the period served another American community."⁷⁷

Notes

54. Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, 146.
55. E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (London, 1930), 122.
56. *Massachusetts Gazette*, June 9, 1774.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Massachusetts Gazette*, August 11, 1774.
59. Suffolk County Probate Records, LXXIII, 687.
60. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 239.
61. *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 2, 1775.
62. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1775.
63. Jones, *op. cit.*, 121.
64. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (American Antiquarian Society, 1947), I, 328.
65. Suffolk County Probate Records, LXXVIII, 683; LXXIX, 19; XCII, 349.
66. Any attempt to equate values of currency at this time is difficult, but if the 1783 Massachusetts pound can be considered roughly equivalent to the English, Mrs. Draper's allowance was not much lower than Devens's inventory as converted from the earlier inflated appraisal.
67. Jones, *op. cit.*, 122.
68. Suffolk County Probate Records, CV, 440-41.
69. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The Correspondence of Peter Timothy, Printer of Charlestown, with Benjamin Franklin," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXXV (Oct. 1934), 125.
70. *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLI (1940), 45-57.
71. Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (The Essex Institute, 1927), 336.
72. *Salem Gazette*, January 9, April 17, June 19, 1781.
73. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1781.
74. *Ibid.*, March 27, April 10, 1781.
75. This was the same Samuel Hall who had been Ann Franklin's partner in 1762-63.
76. *Salem Gazette*, September 4, 1781.
77. L. C. Wroth, "William Goddard and Some of his Friends," *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, XVII (April 1924), 39.

American Bible Illustration

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

BIBLES were the earliest illustrated books of importance published in any number in this country. Naturally, they were illustrated with line engravings on copper, at that time predominantly used for books with any pretensions to elegance. These engravings were not after original American designs, as there were no illustrators to make them, but were copies of European religious paintings, or rather copies of European engravings after such paintings. A number of such illustrated editions of the Scriptures appeared in the last decade of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, among them Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible and those published by B. & J. Collins in New York and Mathew Carey in Philadelphia. Brown's, for instance, had plates by Amos Doolittle, Cornelius Tiebout, Peter Maverick, and William Rollinson. Generally, in these Bibles the engravers did not appear at their best.

In the early nineteenth century there was continued dependence on European designs. About the eighteen-twenties the copper-plate was superseded by the steel-plate, which, with great advance in craftsmanship, long held sway in the field of illustration; its aristocratic air evidently had an appeal. However, the wood-block, long relegated to second place, came to be used for the best book illustration. Attempts to give Bible readers visual instruction through this medium had been made in the early days. The results have sometimes more interest for the chronicler intent on a complete list than for the lover and student of wood-block art and Bible illustration.

It is significant that the wood-block, after long having a secondary part, was used in the first attempt in the United States to produce a really well-designed book illustrated by an American — which happened also to be a Bible. The woodcut, made with a knife, had given way to the wood engraving, made with the burin, offering greatly increased possibilities. So the steel-plate, with its pretensions to elegance, was replaced by the wood-block. The latter, representing a relief process as is

typography, was particularly well suited to illustration, for which it remained the chief medium until the advent of the photo-processes.

All this is mentioned here to lead up to the *Illuminated Bible* published by the Harpers in 1846. The work was described as "embellished with 1600 historical engravings by J. A. Adams, more than 1400 of which are from original designs by J. G. Chapman." The engravings after Chapman carefully reproduced the prim line-work of the drawings. There was very little of the tone-work made possible by the "white line" method of the Englishman Bewick, introduced here by Alexander Anderson, whose work appeared in earlier Bibles. However, this Harper publication was a remarkable production for its time and place, and retains its importance in the annals of American book-making. W. J. Linton, noted wood-engraver and author, knew "no other book like this, so good, so perfect in all it undertakes." The illustrations are like picturings of history, as are so many of the old European Biblical paintings and illustrations. In trying to put the Bible story into pictorial form, the artists face conceptions born, as Harry E. Fosdick and Reinhold Niebuhr have pointed out, of a pre-scientific age. Besides, there is the problem of imagining God without an anthropomorphic aspect.

Later examples have their interest, whether they were born of a real, deep feeling for the Scriptures, or of the artist's desire to produce something original, or of a publisher's particular plans. In an artist's accompaniment to or interpretation of the text, his technical and mental capability as well as his point-of-view have, of course, their influence. And if the artist's personality stands out too much, finer contact with the text may be lost.

One may come across Bible illustrations by some whom one might not have connected with this specialty. There is the New Testament "with numerous illustrations by W. Croome and J. B. Brightly," printed in Philadelphia in 1849. The steel engravings, without name of designer or engraver, lack the lighter touch of Croome's drawings on the wood-block for other books, and are not especially inspired picturings. This Testament goes back again to line engraving on steel, as does the still later

Hitchcock's New and Complete Analysis of the Holy Bible, illustrated with steel-plate engravings from drawings by Thomas Nast and F. B. Carpenter (New York, 1872). Nast, the political cartoonist, and Carpenter, the portrait-painter, depicted the scenes in a dry, traditional manner.

In the present century, with the full use of photo-processes, there is a much greater variety in artistic treatment. In the illustrated Bibles of our time the artist's approach may move away somewhat from a simply realistic recording toward a sort of tempered realism. Helen Sewell's drawings for *A First Bible* (Oxford University Press, 1934) give the impression of an artist of her time thinking somewhat in the spirit of other days, with a formalism in expression that borders on symbolism. Perhaps a somewhat similar quality may be found in the designs of *Jesus the Christ* by Charles Cullen (Nashville, 1944), which seem to aim a bit at the grand manner, but without ostentation. Valenti Angelo has brought his muted expression of mild moods to this task, with the added feeling of the book designer, as in *The Psalms of David*, or *The Book of Ruth*, or *The Sermon on the Mount*, done by the Peter Pauper and other presses.

Differences appear in the manner in which the problem is faced. In *The Parables* (New York, 1942) the realistic color-plates of Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge have a personal swing that moves off from mere matter-of-fact reality. *The Book of Ruth* (New York, 1904), illustrated and designed by Ralph Fletcher Seymour, displays a dignified realism, without too much insistence on detail or on the individuality of the artist. *In our Image* (New York, 1949) has thirty-two color paintings by George Rowe which avoid the sentimental; yet the vigorous character studies may perhaps strike one a little like pictures of professional models. There is robust but restrained, even reverent, presentation in the drawings by James Daugherty for *In the Beginning, being the first chapter of Genesis* (New York, 1941) and *The Kingdom and the Power and the Glory . . . Stories of the Old Testament* (New York, 1929).

Speaking of book designers, there is Rudolph Ruzicka, who brought his talents as decorator and illustrator to the production of *The Bible for my Grandchildren*, arranged by Ruth Hornblower Greenough (Boston, 1950). In this he also links arms

with William Blake, many of whose designs are reproduced in the book.

Perhaps Emlen Etting's illustrations in *Koheleth, The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Norfolk, Conn., 1940) may cause one to wonder what the clever but slight sketches add to understanding of the text or to religious feeling. Indeed, the question may arise as to how far the appeal of Bible pictures is artistic or religious. And at the end one may even ask whether it is best to illustrate the Bible at all. But that would lead to illustration and painting in general.

However, there is an American Bible illustration, which has its place in the history of American book illustration. It has a decided interest in showing how artists reacted to the spirit and meaning of the Scriptures.

Daumier's Comedy of Manners

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

TO understand better the current exhibition of Daumier lithographs in the Albert H. Wiggin Gallery, a few general comments on the theme and arrangement of the prints are needed. The visitor can either look at the show chronologically, print by print, and enjoy the story effect and obtain some artistic perception of each subject; or he can view the exhibition at any point, studying the lithograph by itself for appreciation and enjoyment. Such an arrangement of Daumier's work presents a new interest to the layman, artist, collector, and connoisseur. It appeals to that part of the present era which in many ways resembles the society that the artist is depicting, analyzing, and satirizing.

Daumier had the power to grasp life personally, individually, and, at the same time, universally, in terms of its eternal and unchanging verities. The subject matter of Daumier's art is his and of his times. His style and humor can never be confused with the work of another; yet there is something more. Almost miraculously Daumier's picture of the middle of the nineteenth century, with very little variation, is one of the twentieth. The clothes, the customs, and the language may be strange, but the human emotions, the family problems, and the amusing situations are surprisingly familiar. The appliances, the machines, and shops may be different, but the men, women, and children are the same. Daumier in his vast *oeuvre* in lithography gives a panorama of France under Louis Philippe, the Second Republic, and Napoleon III; yet his prints are a picture of life in any era. The lasting quality of an artist's work is the result of a rare combination: an excitingly personal means of expression and a crystal-clear grasp of the universal scene.

Daumier possessed three driving forces: romanticism, individuality, and love of freedom. His romanticism is hardly expressed in the traditional style. Although a contemporary of Hugo, Dumas, de Musset, and Sainte-Beuve, he is not particularly interested in eulogizing the romantic past. If anything,

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LE PREMIER CIGARRE .

*"The First Cigar," a Lithograph by Daumier
(Greatly Reduced)*

he is more in the tradition of Cervantes, whose *Don Quixote* he loved so much. While poking fun at the past, especially classic drama and the worn-out conditions of nobility acquired by the middle class, he is intensely, almost violently, the champion of self-expression, personal emotions, and human worth. There is nothing of the decadent or the sentimental in Daumier, but there is much which is deep and beautiful. His laughter is not romantic, but his advocacy of the little man, the citizen, and the workman is.

Secondly, being the son of a glazier and amateur poet, Daumier knew what it meant to be a member of the poverty-stricken lower class. All through his work there is ample evidence that he abhorred everything in the government and in the social structure that stole a man's soul and individualism. For years he worked with Philipon, editor of *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, both radical journals, champions of the common individual against the crushing force of the moneyed interests represented particularly by the snobbish and self-satisfied middle class.

The third element, Daumier's love of freedom, can readily be seen in the aspects called romanticism and individualism; this spirit, in a sense, is the spirit of the age. The artist lived in a period which was laying the groundwork for democracy in France, and he, closely a part of the national upheaval, made his contribution. By nature a quiet, retiring man, he did not appear on the barricades or in the streets during the 1830 and 1848 revolutions. What he did accomplish was a series of biting political cartoons and a much vaster body of work levelled at the middle class which took over the country between the two upheavals. Although Daumier lived until 1879, the height of his lithographic career fell between the years 1830 and 1855, and it is with this period that the Library's current exhibition concerns itself. Also, it illustrates Daumier's universal social art rather than his political and judicial ideas.

It was the eventual suppression of the political cartoons that led the artist into social satire. Daumier was imprisoned briefly at Ste. Pelagie in 1832 for his violent attacks on Louis Philippe; and in 1835 *La Caricature*, which had published political cartoons mainly, was suppressed by the government, deeply dis-

turbed by the paper's pointed and poisonous campaign. With this turn of events Daumier established connections with *Le Charivari*, a daily journal which had always placed emphasis on comedy of manners and social satire. He now devoted himself to ridiculing the manners, weaknesses and foibles of the class in power. If he could not attack directly, he would do it subtly. Of course, Daumier's subject matter became more than a veiled antagonism against the class he disliked so much. However, one must not forget that if he disliked bourgeois political vices he certainly loved man. This is apparent in the treatment of his own kind; he laughs just as much at the less fortunate, but when he has a chance to compare the two classes, his own receives his sympathy.

It is obvious that nothing escaped Daumier's peripatetic crayon. The very plan of this exhibition which traces the life of a man from childhood to old age, is evidence of his wide range. Always laughing quietly but pointedly, Daumier takes his audience into the nursery where an overly proud father praises the beauty of his homely child — where the baby yells all night and keeps his parents awake. The child grows up, gets into mischief, disappoints or pleases the adults around him, badgers his teachers, tries his first smoke and first shave, and eventually encounters his first female prey. He gets married and raises a family. There are children who become increasingly noisy. His wife tries to mix a career with her household duties, and he becomes more and more dominated by her. There are country outings where the city man is hardly prepared to cope with the sometimes unpredictable rural surprises — strange animals, sudden storms, and muddy roads. There are family scenes; mother is becoming more independent, insists upon her rights, has a few affairs on the side. Father replies in kind and gets a good tongue-lashing in payment. Daumier takes us into the kitchen, into the restaurant, into shops; he goes visiting, hunting, and fishing — and wherever he goes, there is his keen psychological insight into all those aspects of man that are ridiculous, petty, or amusing. Unlike most cartoons of today in which the ideas are dated, Daumier's lithographs have gained certain immortality through their underlying consideration of mankind. In his own day, Daumier's

prints were lessons that made people think, and even today they have the power of shaking us out of our complacency and old-fashioned moralism.

In Daumier lithography found its full range and essential perfection. From either the artistic or the technical side of the medium, there does not seem to be any phase that escaped him. So directly and simply are his compositions drawn that the idea and the bare foundations of his art cannot help but give a finished structure. Homely, if you will, but only to emphasize, his compositions are conceived of a burning desire to find an answer to a crying need, or to reveal a problem which burdened his time and people. His prints, done in rapid succession for publication, have all the spontaneous quality of an artist's original work done for himself and not for an audience. The mind of the master who has discarded the surface armor of his work is intimately revealed. Daumier's lithographs are subtle; they appeal with such a perception of nature that they require sensitive understanding, and to the untrained mind the subject matter may overshadow the depth of his great talent.

This exhibition of one hundred and ten selected prints reflects Daumier's most modern quality. Men, women, and children touched by tragedy or pathos, strength or weakness, become representatives of life's fundamental dramas. Daumier's work deserves to be called "modern" for all time, for it can simply and naturally be interpreted over and over again. It always remains contemporary in that it possesses the eager, dauntless, insatiable spirit of life. In it there is constant power of genius of enduring youth. He outstripped most of his contemporaries and became a universal and timeless master.

Notes on Rare Books

The *Coplas* of Jorge Manrique

THE *Coplas por la Muerte de su Padre* ("Stanzas on the Death of his Father") by Jorge Manrique occupies a special position in Spanish poetry. Longfellow, who in 1833 published a translation of the work, called it "the most beautiful moral poem" in the Spanish language — an opinion endorsed by innumerable critics.

The first edition of the poem — forty-two stanzas of twelve lines each — was printed at Saragossa in 1492, thirteen years after the poet's death, in a volume entitled *Vita Christi* containing also verses by Fray Inigo de Mendoza, Fernan Pérez de Guzman, and others. It was reissued by the same printer, Paolo Hurus, in 1495. During the sixteenth century there were at least eight editions, and have been many more since. George Ticknor, in his *History of Spanish Literature*, mentions with pride the numerous early copies he possessed. The Boston Public Library, which now owns the Ticknor Collection, is equally proud of these books, especially of the two earliest ones, those of 1574 and 1588 printed, respectively, at Medina del Campo and Alcalà. The first of the two originally belonged to Robert Southey, whose book-plate it bears.

Jorge Manrique was the son of Rodrigo Manrique, a sort of "Cid Campeador" of his age. Alternating between Ferdinand and Isabel and some of the insurgent nobles, Rodrigo found himself rich or poor, hailed or hunted. However, his stature as a great warrior derives mainly from his participation in campaigns on behalf of the Catholic monarchs and his subsequent election as Master of the Order of Santiago. Along with him, his son Jorge was involved in most of the fighting of the epoch. It was in battle that Rodrigo was killed in 1476; Jorge, wounded, survived — until he too found his death on the battlefield two years later, at the age of thirty-eight.

The *Coplas* falls into four sections — a philosophical introduction on the transitory nature of things; a long reflection on the "Ubi Sunt" theme; the heroes of contemporary Spain; and the career of Rodrigo Manrique. They are varied in structure, the poet changing his mood from affirmative to meditative. The slow-paced first section offers some of the most beautiful imagery in the poem:

Our lives are rivers, gliding free
To that unfathomed, boundless sea,

The silent grave!

The world is but the rugged road
Which leads us to the bright abode
Of peace above . . .

Our cradle is the starting place,
In life we run the onward race,
And reach the goal . . .

Although some of the metaphors may have been suggested by earlier poets, it was Manrique's genius that formed them into unforgettable rhythmic verses. Many of the couplets are devoted to a description of the things that will crumble with death, including the charms of flesh and fame. Death the leveller, a theme common in early fifteenth-century poetry, finds a new expression in the *Coplas* as part of the vividly felt scenes of Castille.

The second section recalls the glories of the past heroes of Spain:

Where is the King Don Juan? Where
Each royal prince and noble heir
Of Aragon?

Where are the high born dames, and where
Their gay attire, and jewelled hair,
And odors sweet?

Then several stanzas eulogize persons still fresh in memory. But all the pennons, battlements, and moated walls will pass away and

Our happiest hour is when at last
The soul is freed.

It is from this point that the poet takes up the life and deeds of his father. The tone suddenly changes from quiet elegy to vivid praise. With the triumphant note of an ode, Rodrigo is compared to Caesar, Trajan, Hector, and other figures of antiquity, as embodying a quality of each. He is extolled as a friend, a stern foe, a brave chief, as a man of infinite valor. In the final section the personification of death brings a dramatic element into the verses. In a colloquy, death informs Rodrigo of the transience of fame and wealth that one gains through service to kings:

The eternal life beyond the sky
Wealth cannot purchase, nor the high
And proud estate . . .

Rodrigo's answer constitutes, in a deep sense, the poet's own ac-

ceptance of the coming of death and the passing to a more rewarding life:

O death, no more, no more delay;
My spirit longs to flee away,
And be at rest . . .

Pedro Salinus in his *Reality and the Poet in Spanish Poetry* (Johns Hopkins University, 1942) has commented on the essential difference between narrative poetry — “limpid, innocent, direct, without questioning or doubt” — and Manrique’s poem in which “life, the reality of the world have already become the object of a deeper, more penetrating, scrutinizing glance, of disquieting interrogations by a spirit anxious over its destiny.” And he goes on to say, “In the ballads and in the *Poema del Cid*, we seemed to hear: ‘Here is life. Take it.’ In Jorge Manrique we hear: ‘What is life?’”

As to the question where does Jorge Manrique fit into fifteenth-century Spanish literature and to what extent was he an original craftsman, the answer is rather difficult. It is not known what books he owned and read; one may only assume that he was familiar with those works which others of his position would be acquainted with through family libraries. Still one can trace in the *Coplas* obvious borrowings from contemporaries. Students of Manrique, especially Menéndez Pelayo, have done considerable research on the point. Yet Pelayo emphasizes, as do other critics, the unique quality of the poem. He recognizes that Manrique reaches beyond his individual sorrow to a universal feeling “before the mystery of death,” thus answering Manuel Quintana’s remark that the *Coplas* is marred by the lack of sentiment over the death of the poet’s father. Manrique’s divergence from the traditional elegiac form is the very quality that the modern reader finds most important in considering him a lyric genius.

As early sources Pelayo mentions Fray Migir de Alaya, Fernán Sanchez Talavera, the Marques de Santillana, and, most significantly, Gómez Manrique, the uncle of Jorge. There are many correspondences in the themes of death and the ephemeral nature of worldly treasure in the “*deçires*” (elegiacs) of these poets. In the case of Gómez Manrique they are especially evident; his poems include repetitions of whole lines from earlier works. Augusto Cortina in his edition of the *Coplas* (Madrid, 1929), also contrasts many passages of Gómez Manrique with similar constructions of poetic diction and technique in Jorge’s poem. His quotations show that where Gómez, as in his “*Ubi Sunt*” sections, was content to enu-

merate long lists of men who had gone leaving little trace, Jorge would present each person — powerful kings, popes, emperors — by a liberal use of images. Even a cursory comparison of these passages from the two poets reveals these differences.

Anna Krause, in her *Jorge Manrique and the Cult of Death in the Cuatrocientos* (University of California, 1937), makes an interesting note on the possible relationship of the *Coplas* to Petrarch's *Trionfo della Morte*, in which fame triumphant over death and time over fame antecede the work of the fifteenth-century Spanish poets. In addition, frequent references have been made in Manrique scholarship to topics common in the Bible. It would seem, however, that no direct influence can be attributed to these sources, perhaps not even to Petrarch, although an educated man's reading of the Bible and his knowledge of the Italian poet would naturally have their effect.

Both the 1574 and the 1588 editions of the *Coplas* contain glosses, or explanatory notes, also written in verse. The poem was commented upon in this manner as early as 1501 by Alonso de Cervantes in an edition published at Lisbon. Later editions had new "glosas," each attempting to elaborate further the ideas of death, glory, and so on. They are often hindrances rather than aids to the understanding of the work.

FREDERICK E. DANKER

The Twelve Apostles of Cranach

LUCAS CRANACH the Elder was perhaps, after Dürer and Holbein, the most important German artist of the sixteenth century. As founder of the Saxon school of painting and graphic arts, his influence lasted throughout the century.

Cranach's work as illustrator has been represented in the Boston Public Library by only one volume, Johann Bugenhagen's *Das Leiden und Aufferstehung Jhesu Christi* ("The Sufferings and Resurrection of Jesus Christ"), and therefore the acquisition of a second important work of his, Johannes Pollicarius' *Der Heiligen XII. Aposteln* ("The Twelve Holy Apostles") published at Wittenberg in 1549, fills a real gap. It is a folio volume with fifteen woodcut illustrations, each measuring about six inches in height and five inches in width; the title-page is decorated with small cuts of the twelve apostles, probably by the artist's son, Hans.

The text is limited to an introduction, which explains that the

book is intended for the instruction of "poor, unlearned, simple folk," and to a short paragraph under each picture giving the biography of the apostle.

Cranach was highly esteemed by his contemporaries both as an artist and as a person. Of equable temperament, he was on good terms with his world, and is described by a friend as "talkative, generous, affable, and pleasant." He was born in 1472 in the Franconian town of Kranach, from which he took his name; his family name was probably Sunder or Sonder. His father may have been a painter and his first teacher. In his youth Cranach seems to have travelled in Bavaria and Austria; by 1504 he had obtained some fame as an artist, for in that year he became court-painter to the Saxon Elector Friedrich the Wise at Wittenberg, with a salary of 100 guilders, then a substantial sum, plus summer and winter clothes and an additional amount for the paintings he did for his master. In 1508 he was granted a coat-of-arms, and was sent as a sort of good-will ambassador to the Netherlands, where he painted the picture of the prince who later became the emperor Charles V. In 1519 he was chosen a member of the Wittenberg Council, and twenty-one years later, burgomaster of the town. He acquired a fine house, and a pharmacy and printing-press, in addition to his work-shop, where as many as ten assistants worked under his direction. Sometime before coming to Wittenberg, he had married Barbara Brengbier, the daughter of a patrician of Gotha. His sons Hans and Lucas the Younger also achieved fame as artists.

After the death of the Elector Friedrich, Cranach continued to serve under his successors, Johann the Constant and Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, both of whom greatly admired his art. When Johann Friedrich was driven into exile by the Emperor, Cranach accompanied him to Augsburg and then to Innsbruck. After the release of the Elector, the painter went with him to Weimar, remaining there until his death in 1552.

Cranach's life at Wittenberg coincided with the beginnings of the Reformation. He formed a close friendship with Luther, acting as godfather to his first son, and making several portraits of him, both paintings and woodcuts.

The cuts in the *Twelve Apostles* were probably made in 1512 or even earlier. They were used in several books; in 1539 they served as illustrations for the *Symbolum der Zwölf Aposteln* ("Apostles' Creed") published at Wittenberg by Rhaw. The Library's copy is of the second edition, published ten years later by Rhaw's successors.

The first woodcut in the text, depicting the Creation, appears also in Albrecht von Eyb's *Ob einem Mann Gezieme zu Nehmen ein Eeweib* ("Whether a Man Should Marry"), published in 1540 and illustrated by Weiditz, and is probably by this artist. In the center, against a circular background, God is raising Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam, while a lion, deer, and other animals hover around. Two other circles surround the scene, the inner one figuring the sea and the outer one the sky. Above is another representation of the Divinity, with angels and cherubs round about, and the four winds in the corners. Then begins Cranach's series of woodcuts showing the martyrdom of the apostles. In the first, St. Peter is hanging on the cross head-down; in succeeding ones St. Andrew, St. Philip, and St. Bartholomew are also crucified; St. James is about to be beheaded; St. John the Evangelist descends alive into a tomb, and so on; one execution follows another. After all these gruesome scenes, one comes with relief to St. Paul, a noble old man with a white beard, his left hand on a book and his right holding two swords. Finally, there is a cut of the Resurrection, attributed to Hans Cranach. The tomb with its empty grave is on the right; to the left cherubs are burying the old Adam; Christ stands above on a bank of clouds.

The Library's other volume, Bugenhagen's *Leiden und Auferstehung*, is also a religious picture-book. Published at Wittenberg in 1544, its illustrations first appeared in 1509 with a Latin text. The book has a decorated title-page and fourteen plates: Christ on the Mount of Olives, the taking of Christ, Christ before Annas, Caiaphas and Herod, the scourging, the crown of thorns, Ecce homo, Pilate washing his hands, Christ bearing the cross, the lamentation for Christ, the entombment, and the Resurrection. The prints are uneven in value; however, Campbell Dodgson, in his *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, assigns them all to Cranach the Elder. Each bears the Saxon arms (two shields, one with crossed swords, the other with a crown of rue) which Cranach used as court-painter; a few also have his personal arms, a serpent with bats' wings.

Like those of the *Twelve Apostles*, these cuts are characteristically German in feeling. Lacking the grace and polish of French or Italian Renaissance art, they are vigorously drawn and charged with tumultuous emotion. It is not a pretty world Cranach depicts; the faces of Christ's torturers are grotesque, animal-like. Even the children seem marked with the depravity of their elders, and the dogs are quarrelsome. There is also an element of the grotesque in

the decorations and furnishings, as in the horned devil sitting on top of a column or the leafy roof of Herod's throne. Happily, the beauty of nature in the backgrounds furnishes a peaceful element.

Both books reveal Cranach as an original and forceful artist; the new volume is perhaps the finer of the two. It deserves a high rank in the Library's collection of sixteenth-century illustrated books.

EDITH A. WRIGHT

The Complaint of England

THE *Complaint of England* by William Lightfoote, printed in London by John Wolfe in 1587, is a rare tract issuing from a turbulent time of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Significant as a historic document in more ways than one, its interest to the Library lies chiefly in its being also an early item of Americana.

It is a quarto of 34 leaves. The dedication to Sir George Barne, Lord Mayor of London, is printed in large Roman type; a page of Latin verse, a scurrilous apostrophe to the Pope, follows in italics; and the text is in Gothic type. The coat-of-arms of Sir George occupies the verso of the title-page. The author's name, absent on the title-page, appears at the end of the dedication.

The year 1587 in which the tract appeared saw the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the following year was that of the Spanish Armada. In 1570 Pope Pius V had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, and the Catholic reaction found support not only in Rome but also at the court of Spain. Lightfoote's warning of the Spanish conspiracy appears in the form of a monologue or "Complaint" uttered by England. "How can I but blushe to call them sonnes," England complains of the Catholics, "who violating the sacred laws of nature, have sought to prefer an uniust stepdame before their most loving mother?" The exhortation continues passionate and extreme, with many similes taken from Scripture, especially the Old Testament. The ebullitions in the text are given pithy summaries in the margins, as "Papists under holie looks carrie hollow harts," "Jesuites by profession are in condition Iscariotes," and "They that resist a lawful Prince make war against the living God." The seminarians, trained in the Catholic college of Douai and elsewhere, rouse England's bitterness: "Some of you of malicious intent estrange yourselves, cursetting over like fugitives into other nations, and there plant your selves in those Semi-

naries, whose Gardener is Antichrist, whose seedes are errors, whose fruites are treasons."

Then follow four pages of harrowing relations of the treatment of the natives by the Spanish conquerors in the West Indies and Mexico. The incidents are lifted, with some variation of expression, from *The Spanish Colonie*, the first English translation of the famous treatise by Bishop Las Casas printed in London in 1583—a copy of which is in the Library.

Bartholemew de Las Casas (1474-1566) was the first to protest against the cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards on the Indians. He made his first voyage to the Indies under Columbus in 1498, and between then and 1547 visited the New World seven times, receiving before sailing in 1516 the title of "Universal Protector of the Indians." Some twenty years later he landed in Mexico. Active among the natives, with whose guilelessness he was in sympathy, Las Casas was eyewitness to the horrors he reported. He inveighed against the system of vassalage by which the natives were allotted like chattel to the Spanish invaders, and urged that the Indies and all lands still to be subdued should be incorporated into the royal crown of Castile and Leon and held directly as free subjects. His famous *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* was written in 1539, but not published until 1552 as the first of a series of nine tracts.

The narrative part of *The Spanish Colonie* on which Lightfoote drew comprises fifty-two leaves, whereas in his own tract he gave only four pages to events in Spanish America; but these he chose for good effect. "They have dispeopled in *India* more than ten realmes," one reads, "greater than al Spaine, Aragon & Portugall: which nowe remaine as a wildernes abandoned & desolate, being before as populous as was possible, Within the space of forty yeres, they as in a common butchery slaughtered of innocent lambs, above twelve millions, men, women, & children."

A characteristic incident is told of an Indian "Lord" who was captured and burnt at the stake. A Franciscan friar preached to him on the principles of the Christian faith through which he might gain everlasting joy in heaven, or else suffer torments in hell. The Indian asked whither the Spaniards went after death; receiving the reply that they went to heaven, he returned that he would not go there because he did not want to be in the same place with the Spaniards.

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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OCTOBER 1958

Irish Support of the Abolitionist Movement

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

THE American Abolitionist movement had many sympathizers abroad, from the beginning. The support which it received from Ireland is one of the interesting developments for which one finds abundant source material in the Boston Public Library's great collection of anti-slavery manuscripts. The Weston sisters included among their correspondents many Europeans; among the Irish were the Jenningses of Cork, the Webbs and the Allens of Dublin, and many others. Some, such as the Quaker printer Richard Webb and his wife, were personal friends whose letters cover a wide range. The present article will be restricted primarily to the work of the various "Female Anti-Slavery Societies" described in the annual letters sent Maria Weston Chapman, the moving spirit of the Boston Bazaar.

Interest in the American anti-slavery movement was first aroused in Ireland in 1841, through the lecture tour of Charles L. Remond, a Negro from Salem, Massachusetts, who was considered one of the best of the colored orators among the Abolitionists. Isabel Jennings, co-secretary of the Cork Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, commented to Mrs. Chapman in a long letter dated April 12, 1843: "It is very hard for me to think that 'tis far short of two years since we first felt that Americans were our brethren — and not the inhabitants of a world with which we had no

feelings in common. For tho' Miss M's book [Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*] was *read* it was not *felt* until after C. L. Remond's visit."¹ Remond himself, shortly before returning to the United States, wrote to Mrs. Chapman: "For the past three months I have been much occupied in lecturing under most flattering auspices in Ireland and am pleased to say as my belief that I have been instrumental in awakening much interest for the furtherance of the good cause."²

The chief contribution made to the anti-slavery movement by the Irish societies — as by all foreign societies — was in donations to the bazaars, the most important of which was the one held in Boston before Christmas under the leadership of the Weston sisters. The donations were welcome because, though the articles might vary little from the products of the local ladies, the fact that they came from "over-seas" increased their saleability. Much of the correspondence, therefore, is connected with the shipping of the annual box. In 1842 Isabel Jennings wrote to Mrs. Chapman:

We feel that we have gained ground since last year. We have got several new contributors and not lost one old one. Many questions are asked us, whether plain or fancy work would be preferred, little things for children or knitted or netted articles? . . . A strong wish has been expressed that no persons should be alluded to by name as particularly active, some of the persons most interested being quite unknown to you . . . In general we have been more anxious to get a little from several people than a great many things from any one.³

With few exceptions, the articles sent by the Irish women might well be found in the usual church-fair today. Several lists of goods are preserved in the Weston Papers: a typical one, from the Cork box of 1848, included 42 seaweed pieces (this was the big "specialty" that year — Isabel Jennings hoped that they were not "too many" of them); 5 Berlin wool pieces; 11 knitted doilies; 3 crochet neck ties; 3 pair of children's socks; 4 dolls; 1 baby's cap, etc. The seaweed work was a great success; the Annual Report of the Cork Society for 1849 printed a letter from Anne Warren Weston which read in part: "No articles in the Bazaar were more admired, or found a readier sale than did your beautiful Sea-Mosses. They commanded univer-

sal admiration." Almost anything saleable might show up. There were, of course, many books, sheets of music, water-colors, and autographs. One year Richard Webb sent over two incunabula, "Regulations of the Romish Chancerye under Pope Sixtus Fourth, printed at Rome in 1471 within 21 years of the invention of the art of Printing" and an unidentified work of Johannes Gerson, printed by Ulric Zell at Cologne. Of the latter Maria Chapman noted, presumably from information supplied by Webb, that "specimens of his press are highly prized by collectors and are by no means easily procured. Its venerable leaves have borne the wear and tear of 375 years remarkably well. Illuminated."⁴

A great stumbling block for those removed from the scene was the split of the anti-slavery movement into "Old Organization," personified by Garrison and the Weston sisters, and "New Organization," the group led by such men as Amos Phelps and James Birney which became known as the "Liberty Party." The Cork Society did its best to steer clear of the controversy; its leaders were firmly back of the "Old Organization." In November 1842 they advised Mrs. Chapman: "With regard to New Organization, we know nothing of it — we never hear of it amongst us — but we are endeavoring as much as possible to prepare the way for its speedy downfall should it appear."⁵ But the inter-party conflicts caused anxiety in many quarters. Mrs. Mary Welsh wrote:

There is a ladies society lately formed at Ulster in Ireland who are advertising themselves as willing to take contributions for both your society and Liberty Party. This has been another source of grief to us, that there should be anti-slavery friends in this country so truly ignorant of the right position of the question as to ever speak of Liberty Party. I wrote the secretary on the subject, she has answered not at all in a satisfactory way. They evidently pretend to know a great deal whilst they are evidently very ignorant of the utter inability of that Party to do anything for the slave. I don't know whether we will think it worth while to correspond with them on the subject or not, as the position they have assumed is not likely to do much either way.⁶

Mary Estlin, that stalwart fighter for the anti-slavery cause in Bristol, England, lamented about her own countrymen to Anne Weston in 1851:

At present we must go on with the war of extermination against New Organization, which I do believe if Mr. W. [Wendell] Phillips and you would come and unite might be brought to a victorious issue in the course of the next twelve months. I know you will laugh at me for such a sanguine prediction and remind me that it is *ineradicable*, being a manifestation of the inherent depravity of human nature which is sure to spring up in some form while the temptations of self-interest continue to put forth their paralyzing power on moral rectitude . . . I want you to know the extreme difficulty we have in making English people, especially Quakers, understand that it is *not* the most enlarged kind of Antislavery to help and co-operate with "*all parties*," and that this really means pulling down with one hand what you build up with the other.⁷

Because of this dim appreciation of the basic differences in the American parties, personalities played an important part in the Irish enthusiasms for the slave. A lecture tour by the representative of one group or the other was sure to stir up renewed interest, if not in the group, in the lecturer himself. Among the most influential was the ex-slave Frederick Douglass, who visited Ireland in 1845-46, spending four months there and giving more than fifty lectures, and who, on his return, settled at Rochester, New York, to publish the anti-slavery weekly *The North Star*. In 1848 Isabel Jennings noted the sentiments of her associates:

Should the Rochester Bazaar succeed this year, we feel it would be only our duty to send some things to it also. F. Douglass was the means of getting us many of our active members — but from many causes Boston is the place where the bulk of our contributions will go. You have always had the burden to bear of proslavery opposition. On you all their evil thoughts were fixed.⁸

Two years later she remarked:

We had hoped in addition to the box for Boston, to have had one for F. Douglass, but in that also we have been disappointed — we have only sent him a small parcel enclosed in the Box for you, which you will kindly forward to him by first opportunity. We are greatly pleased to hear that the colored ladies of New York have exerted themselves and we gladly aid them by sending a trifle through F. D. It seems to us very good to have a colored editor such as F. D. and we feel that he should be supported. You of course have constant need of funds and are naturally of opinion that you can spend them to the best advantage, otherwise you would alter

your ways; but Frederick deserves more from us than he has got — it shews an adherence to principle that pleases us, that altho' F. D. is a friend, yet as great things and grand sell best at Boston and thereby produce more money for the cause, all wished that our best things should go where they would do most good.⁹

The Cork women were not alone in their devotion to Douglass. Richard Webb complained that the principal contributors in Belfast "are personal friends of Douglass, who think more of him than of the cause — so of Manchester . . . Besides, the Manchester and Belfast people were directly acted on by Maria Webb (a connexion of my own) and Anna Richardson (who was the means of buying Douglass's freedom) and these are great anti-Garrisonians and Pro Liberty Party partisans."¹⁰

Richard Webb also left a brief description of the Jennings family, the mainstay of the Cork Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, writing in 1851 to one of the Westons then visiting in Europe:

A few days ago we had a visit from some of the Jennings's. A party of seven of them were on their way to Wales and London where they have taken a house for a month at Brampton. The party consisted of the old lady mother (sister to the Richardsons), Mary, Helen, Charlotte, and Tom. Tom you must know is the eldest son, a man of about fifty, the bachelor of the party and a fine pleasant fellow. Then besides they have a heavy little niece, and a charming cousin of our own, Hannah Elizabeth White, no relation of theirs but a very intimate friend. She is a delightful creature with beautiful eyes and no fault that is not rather an advantage than otherwise. Helen Jennings has a remarkably heavenly face, full of gentleness and sweetness. All these except Mrs. Jennings and Helen remain only a fortnight in London when they return to make way for Jane, Isabel, and Robert with two other of their friends who are not relatives. Isabel is a very bright and pleasant woman — she is your correspondent — I mean Mrs. Chapman's. Jane is a good creature, fairly foaming over with energetic, indefatigable philanthropy and good will to mankind. You will surely see Isabel. I hope you may see the rest.¹¹

The people of the Cork Society were so proud of their handiwork that the sending of the annual box was usually held up until all contributions were ready and could be placed on exhibition. They were certainly faithful; in the midst of the great famine of 1846 Hannah White wrote: "We feared that our contribution this year would be but a small one owing to the dis-

tress in this country, but it is as good as usual and proves that those who feel for *any* suffering are inclined to feel for all. We find that the persons to give to us are those who are the readiest to assist in benevolent schemes at home.”¹² There seems to have been an annual subscription of two shillings sixpence, but “donations” were also welcome. The thirteenth annual report of the Society listed thirty-three such subscriptions and donations (fifteen of them from men) totaling £8-2-11. The number may have comprised the most active members and associates, as there were more than seventy ladies who contributed articles for the Boston Bazaar that year.

THE earliest letter bringing information of the Belfast Society was sent to Mrs. Chapman in January 1846 by Mary Ireland:

An intense interest has been excited by the powerful oratory of Frederick Douglas during his late visit to this town and in consequence a female Anti-Slavery Society is about being formed just at present. All who have listened to Mr. D— are warm in the cause of the slave, many are earnest and energetic and if a fair development of these impulses were permitted I am convinced there is scarcely a lady in Belfast who would not be anxious to join in any means calculated to promote the enfranchisement of the deeply injured Africans. But alas those who usually take the lead in other good works, offended by the uncompromising tone of Mr. Douglas in regard to the Free Church of Scotland, are either avowed enemies to the present movement or very hollow friends. Still the Cause of *Bondsman* no one dares to attack openly, but, insinuations, ridicule and every other means which human ingenuity can devise will be attempted in order to chill the warm tide of kindly sympathy and to paralyze farther effort.

Thus situated, if some decided effort [could] be made to unite *the young especially* in some actual *work*, a useful step would be gained. What shall we do? is the question with many. Use your needle or your pencil for the bazaar, I say to them, by this you will at least evince your sympathy . . .

She asked for “a few lines” describing the specific articles which might be suitable for the Boston fair, adding:

Besides even your *name* will do much. It was at first whispered, *but dare not now be repeated*, that Frederick Douglas was an im-

poster, and it has been also insinuated that C. L. Remond was a white man who had assumed the Ethiop tinge to suit a purpose; but every heart is filled with admiration of Mrs. Chapman. There is a feminine pride associated with the accounts we hear of your untiring efforts, which make any one here feel gratified in following any suggestion that may come from your pen.¹³

Miss Ireland, a teacher at the Royal Academical Institution in Belfast, sent Mrs. Chapman, as a "thank you" for her answer to her inquiry, "a few copies of an address in poetry" which she had written "as one of the little means in my power for assisting my tongue to implore," as well as a copy of "a little Chronicle of English History in verse written for the use of a private school" — probably her own pupils. Her letter continued:

I am not sanguine of public sentiment here at present — yet all hate slavery as the accursed thing, all wish it removed, but so far from the scene of action the individual duty appears less imperative. The painful nature of the details of horror connected with the slavery leads many to shrink even from the perusal of facts so appalling, so revolting, and to which even our home knowledge of human crime can bring us no parallel . . . The little band here must try to spread knowledge of facts — to awaken zeal *founded* on knowledge; but at the very threshold of this knowledge comes the appalling fact that there is division in the Abolition Camp, that the noble band has been rent by internal variance. I ask not why, but could weep that it is so, since the names arrayed on either side teach me that *we* ought to sympathize with both. I ask not to know why one is Paul and another of Apollos, only let all be of Christ — or rather let all be earnest in the cause of Abolition and knowing that there are such in both parties I am fully prepared to give that honour to each which robs not the other.¹⁴

She had written to Mrs. Chapman as a private individual; Maria Webb addressed her as "Corresponding Secretary" of the Belfast Ladies Anti-Slavery Association. Her fellow-members had high ideals for influencing the younger generation through their mothers and teachers; as she expressed it in a letter of June 17, 1846:

We who have committed to us the moral training of the rising generation may surely do something towards improving the tone of public feeling whilst exerting our influence to awaken the sympathies of childhood on behalf of the oppressed. But to do this

effectively, mothers in the first place must have their own intelligence and their own sympathies aroused, and if rightly aroused they will not fail to communicate in many instances to the moral feeling of man a momentum that shall carry him onward till he reaches the confines of the grave. In the contemplation of this we are especially anxious to see the attention of mothers and of governesses directed to an examination of the slavery which exists in the midst of a people who so boastingly talk of freedom.

And if the sons and daughters of Erin ere they leave their own sea-girt isle were intellectually prepared to sympathize with the enslaved and the injured colored inhabitants of your land, what a different influence might the emigrants carry with them to the homes and the circles they form in America. As the case now stands we fear that our country-men on reaching your shores more frequently join in proslavery prejudice and outcry, instead of seeking to promote antislavery effort.¹⁵

The following November Miss Webb sent along the customary box of contributions for the Bazaar, apologizing for "not being able to get nicer material made from free labour cotton. The muslin is coarse and the only recommendation we can offer for the prints is the fact of being unpolluted by slave labour." She reiterated the Belfast Association's hopes of strengthening the stream of emigrants against the blandishments of the proslavery forces in America:

We are informed that Irish emigrants, with their minds proverbially open to be acted on by prejudice and adopting the current sentiments of American society, usually join the pro-slavery ranks after crossing the Atlantic; before being exposed to that ordeal we wish as far as possible to have their minds fortified to meet it, hence some of us have long kept an eye fixed on the schools of this country as a fitting theatre for antislavery effort; and we rejoice to observe that whilst members of our Association are furnishing you with proofs of their interest in your efforts, they are informing their minds by reading and thus preparing themselves to become effectual co-workers in the cause by carrying it into schools which many of them patronize.

She emphasized however that, in order that such an endeavor might have any hope of success, they "must stand forth unshackled by party." She candidly admits:

Party spirit has ever been the bane of the ardent Irish people and whenever it has mingled with their efforts, whether in philanthropy or religion, it has tended to overturn all that was good and

substitute strife and acrimony in its stead. Let our individual members inform themselves as minutely as they please in relation to the distinctive views and operations of American Abolitionists, but in a society capacity we must take our stand on broad ground as the friends of Antislavery and advocates of the rights of the coloured man, not as the exclusive partisans of a section . . . Some fully adopt your views but we can assure you that the mass of our people, when looking on the glorious results that have been achieved in the emancipation of our own Colonies by the union of moral and political action, are slow to approve of the total abandonment of an instrumentality that formerly partnered that happy result . . . Nevertheless the American Anti-Slavery Society has many zealous friends here, which the donations to your Bazaar have abundantly testified.¹⁶

Unfortunately this *laissez-faire* attitude of the Belfast Society toward the biases of its members may have been, in part, responsible for the cooling of ardor. There seems to be no further mention of the group until 1851, when Isabel Jennings, in a letter to Mary Estlin, contrasted the Cork and Belfast Societies:

With regard to a Committee and other etceteras of a regular Society, we are very deficient — in Belfast they expended too much energy on the externals, if I may so express it, of a Society, and of late they have done nothing. I wish they could be written to by some English friends. With them as with us the famine years exercised a very depressing influence and, tho' the country is now as well off as before 1846, still that amount of prosperity is not sufficient to enable us to send much money to America; Belfast however is a far richer town than Cork and it is too bad that nothing is done there.¹⁷

It was shortly after this that the Belfast Ladies Anti-Slavery Association merged into a Sewing Circle, the products of which were sent to one or another of the Bazaars.

Late in 1851 Mary Ireland was at work preparing, with the help of Richard Webb, a collection of antislavery poems "in a very cheap form" for the use of schools; she sent thirty copies of the volume to the next Boston Bazaar. In her accompanying letter she remarked: "As you have of course the works of the same poets in more attractive dresses, I have some hesitation in sending the book — but its publication has put me out of funds and, though I have sold about one half the impression,

there is no immediate demand for the remainder. As a testimony of good will then, I hope to have them accepted."¹⁸ Two years later she complained to Mary Estlin that there seemed no hope of bringing any lecturers to Belfast:

The gentleman's society is actually *deceased* at present and it would require the voice of a George Thomson [George Thompson, agent of the London Anti-Slavery Society] to give any hope of a Phoenix from its ashes. The Ladies' Society consists of members more willing to work than to rouse others — quiet domestic females.

She added what details she had discovered about the dissolution of the Men's Society:

The Secretaries, two old gentlemen veterans in the West Indian struggle, have for some years back been the principal sustainers of the Antislavery cause; as far as I am aware they were disconnected with any other society but they have called meetings and given the right hand of fellowship to all lecturers who came — to Mr. Scoble, to Frederick Douglass, to Mr. Garrison, to Mr. Garnet. It was whispered at one time that Dr. Pennington was willing to come but conceiving that he had been untrue to the cause he was not invited. After Mr. McKim's visit a wish *was* felt that a lecturer might be invited. The secretaries called a meeting. Two or three members I think looked in but no cordial joining was effected. One gentleman, rich in the world's wealth and ardent in the cause of the slave at least in words, gave his opinion that we needed no lectures, Uncle Tom's Cabin had done the work — fitter for us now to raise funds to pay lecturers in America. Still [there was] no proposal to *collect* for the purpose. The secretaries then, seeing that all action was as usual to devolve on them, decided to resign in the hope that their doing so might bring younger men into the field. No time could be better for a visit from Mr. Thomson if either society had funds, but the fact is these venerable men, the secretaries, have been worn out in a great measure by being left to supply the means and then to collect for their repayment.

A pretty story I have treated you to about my own town. I wish I had a better to tell. Mr. Thomson could do us a world of good — could perhaps create a soul under the ribs of death but, if professing Abolitionists cannot see it a duty to obtain his aid, I see little to expect.¹⁹

In 1854 the Belfast Ladies Association (apparently the title survived after the union with the Sewing Circle) was still sending contributions to the Boston Bazaar; its current secretary,

a Miss Hinks, noted that "one of the cradle quilts was knit by the President of our Association, a lady of 84 or upwards!"²⁰ The following year, however, Miss Hinks felt obliged to resign her position to care for her aged father. In informing Anne Weston of her intention she added: "This year however our work goes to Rochester. I am sure you will not approve of this, but our Committee is a divided one in opinion and we think it right to give each party the means of assisting the cause as they think most desirable."²¹ The end was in sight. In November of 1857 Mary Ireland informed the Committee of the Boston Bazaar:

I am much vexed to send you again so poor an offering from Belfast, but as yet we have had no revival of Antislavery effort and beyond my own little girls [her pupils], only four ladies have taken any interest in the bazaar at the present time.

And even so I feel, that they and we should have done better: perhaps we may again. But this year, the striped ottoman from the older girls, the baby's shirts and the dolls with their clothing were all I could accomplish.

P. S. The doileys knitted by Miss McCracken will not be thought without value when I mention that they were manufactured by a lady aged 87 who for nearly her whole life has been first in every local work of charity and who never forgets the claims of those who are in bonds: but is as ardent now in the cause of American Antislavery as she was formerly in that of the West Indian slave.²²

THESE is no evidence in the Weston correspondence of an organized anti-slavery society in Dublin in the earlier part of the period. There were, nevertheless, ardent workers for the movement. Richard Webb was one of the most whole-hearted of them, acting often as a central agent forwarding packages from various towns to Liverpool and on to Boston. But the number was small. "There are very few workers or donors," Webb wrote to Anne Weston in 1848, "very few who care a pin for the Anti Slavery cause." And again, "I am sure you must, in your secret soul, think me a great Dolly to be so fussy about ladies' work; but there is absolutely nobody else to do the fussing and the writing which must be done." In the same letter he gives a picture of one family of sympathizers:

I must tell you that amongst all your antislavery friends in Dublin, James Haughton's daughters are the most distinguée in point of standing — they are a little bit aristocratic and exclusive, and one shape their aristocracy takes is a strong desire to send their own gifts alone, in a separate box by themselves. As they are not very much used to business, this disposition has rather an awkward result for they generally send all they have to send in an envelope 2 or 3 times as big as there is any necessity for, so as to incur an amount of expense in the freight nearly if not quite equal to the value of their gifts. As my wife and myself are always the packers and forwarders from Dublin, we have on more than one occasion taken the law in our own hands in this particular and have opened the Haughton's parcel, repacked the goods and discarded the envelope. We did so this time — if we had not, you would have had to pay for double freight which would have been very disagreeable both to you and to us . . .

I tell you all this that, whilst you appreciate our motive for contravening their wishes, you may be so far our abettor as to say nothing to them about it . . . If you publish any account of the fair and include in it a sugar plum to any individual donors (which I do not recommend), I hope you will say a good word for the Miss Haughtons for they might be the better of a little blarney, while we can get on very well without it.²³

However, the situation in Dublin had somewhat improved by 1851 when Webb informed Miss Weston that a number of Quakers had resolved to form two anti-slavery societies, one for gentlemen and one for ladies. He himself was to be secretary of the former, while James Haughton had been chosen a vice-president. He did not "hope much from the anti-slavery fire of a parcel of Quakers," but the members had agreed to assist the Boston Bazaar, even though they were "terribly frightened by the talk there has been about heresy and new opinions in connection with Boston abolitionism." The ladies' society, he noted, would be entirely independent, and "then the women will have full play for all their faculties and will . . . be likely to surpass their brethren in usefulness."²⁴

As was inevitable, Webb ran into trouble with the Quakers. A few weeks later he informed Miss Weston:

Friends are so pained by one of my recent letters in the Standard, and are likely to be so much more so by others yet to come, that I fear I shall be deposed — and what shall I do then? I think there is a good deal of anti-slavery sentiment among "this people" but it

is so much overladen by such things as emotions, notions, or conditions, that it is not likely to bring forth much fruit.²⁵

Irish support of Abolitionism may not have been extensive materially; yet undoubtedly it played its part in strengthening the movement in America.

Notes

All the manuscripts referred to are in the Boston Public Library.

1. Isabel Jennings to Maria Weston Chapman, April 12, 1843.
2. Charles L. Remond to M. W. Chapman, November 16, 1841.
3. Isabel Jennings to M. W. Chapman, November 15, 1842.
4. The Chapman Papers, Ms.A.4.6A, vol. 3, 95-101. The "Regulations of the Romish Chancery" is the *Regulae ordinationis et constitutiones Cancellariae Apostolice* of Sixtus IV, printed by Adam Rot in Rome (*British Museum Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Books*, Part IV, p. 42).
5. Isabel Jennings to M. W. Chapman, November 15, 1842 (second letter).
6. Mrs. M. Welsh to M. W. Chapman, November 17, 1846.
7. Mary A. Estlin to Anne Warren Weston, October 11, 1851.
8. Isabel Jennings to A. W. Weston, November 28, 1848.
9. Isabel Jennings to A. W. Weston, November [3], 1850.
10. Richard D. Webb to A. W. Weston, November 14, 1848.
11. Richard D. Webb to [?] Weston, May 18, 1851.
12. Hannah E. White to M. W. Chapman, October 30, 1846.
13. Mary Ireland to M. W. Chapman, January 24, 1846.
14. Mary Ireland to M. W. Chapman, June 19, 1846.
15. Maria Webb to The Secretary of the Massachusetts Female Anti-Slavery Society, June 17, 1846.
16. Maria Webb to The Secretary of the Boston Female Antislavery Society, November 2, 1846.
17. Isabel Jennings to Mary A. Estlin, March 24, [1851].
18. Mary Ireland to "Dear Madam" [M. W. Chapman?], October 24, 1852.
19. Mary Ireland to Mary A. Estlin, November 7, 1853.
20. Miss Hinks to Mrs. W. L. Garrison, November 6, 1854.
21. Miss Hinks to Miss Weston [Anne Warren Weston?], July 13, 1855.
22. Mary Ireland to The Committee of the Boston Bazaar, November 13, 1857.
23. Richard D. Webb to A. W. Weston, November 14, 1848.
24. Richard D. Webb to Miss Weston, April 4, 1851.
25. Richard D. Webb to Miss Weston, May 18, 1851.

A Medieval Manuscript of *Philomena*

Versions by John of Hoveden and John Peckham

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

THE Library's collection of medieval manuscripts has been enriched by a beautiful little book of devotions in Latin, produced in the Netherlands about 1440, and including two poems, both entitled *Philomena* ("The Nightingale"), by John of Hoveden and John Peckham. The manuscript, consisting of 238 leaves of thin vellum, measures approximately four and a half by three inches, and is written in a squarish Gothic script, twenty-two lines to the page. The rubrics are in red, and there are many small red and blue capitals. The binding is brown calf over boards, with metal clasps and bands; the back cover, which is contemporary, is stamped in blind with the words *De profundis clamavi ad te Domine . . .* ("I called to Thee from the depths, O Lord").

Illuminated miniatures and border devices give a special charm and distinction to the volume. The former comprise nine historiated initials, two of which depict Christ rising from the tomb wearing the crown of thorns and holding a scourge in each hand; three show the Virgin and Child; and the rest represent a penitent King David in a white garment, his crown and royal robes cast aside, a fool playing on two pipes, a man in a blue robe kneeling before a *prie-Dieu*, and St. Michael trampling on a prostrate Devil. There are also six other large ornamental initials decorated with leaves, flowers, or birds, and many smaller ones with leafy extensions. The decorated borders, which number over forty, are composed of stylized flowers, combined with such recognizable objects as cornflowers, strawberries, pea-pods, bears and monkeys, and with grotesque figures — animals and birds with human heads, and a dragon, which appears once wearing a green hat, and again coiled up on an acanthus leaf. The gold and colors in these decorations are still bright and fresh.

The exact place of origin of the manuscript is not known, but Utrecht, at the time the most important Dutch center

for the production of manuscripts, has been tentatively suggested. Although a decision on this point must be left to experts, the probability of a connection with Utrecht is born out by obvious similarities, particularly in the style of the borders, to manuscripts from that city, as may be seen in A. W. Byvanck's publications *La Miniature Hollandaise et les MSS Illustrés du XIV^e au XVI^e Siècle aux Pays-Bas Septentrionaux* (La Haye, 1922-26) and *La Miniature dans les Pays-Bas Septentrionaux* (Paris, 1939). One trait, which is almost like a trade-mark of these Utrecht manuscripts, is the abundant use of sprays of small green leaves, together with curving lines of ink and with gold bosses from which radiate short hair-lines. The traditional ivy-leaf pattern and the later acanthus leaf also occur, but the type here described predominates. Other common features are grotesques and, in a Bible of 1445, the capitals in gold, pink, and blue with a tracery of flowers outlined in white. In a Missal of 1450 a letter "M," enclosing the miniature of a man praying before an altar, is almost identical with the one in the Library's manuscript, even to the pattern of five flowers in the vertical stroke. In several manuscripts also the figure of Christ is similarly portrayed as to the inclination of the head, the long triangular face, the form of halo, and the scourges. Again, a Latin Book of Hours of 1465 contains a border with the same type of dragon and a fool sitting in a flower-bud. This style of decoration is found in manuscripts ranging from about 1420 to 1465.

The fifteenth century was a period of religious and educational revival in the Netherlands, owing in large measure to the activities of the Brethren of the Common Life, an order founded by Geert Groote (Gerardus Magnus) about 1380. When Groote began his work, there were only a few scholars and no universities in Holland, but by the end of the fifteenth century, many schools, advanced as well as elementary, had been founded by the Brethren, and a great stream of religious works had poured forth from their *scriptoria*. The Library's manuscript, although not necessarily a direct product of the Order's zeal (the Charterhouse "Nieuwlicht" near Utrecht also produced many illuminated manuscripts at this time) was undoubtedly created by the same ardent piety.

In subject-matter the book belongs to the works of mystical devotion so popular in the period. It reflects a spirit which may be traced back to St. Bernard in the twelfth century and to St. Francis in the thirteenth, and which permeated the religious literature and art of the later Middle Ages. These works are characterized by an intense personal attachment to Jesus and the Virgin. Christ is no longer depicted as the King reigning in majesty; the emphasis is placed on the Man of Sorrows, and His sufferings are dwelt on at great length and with painful realism.

The contents of the volume, partly in prose and partly in verse, include prayers attributed to Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, and to Popes Benedict XII, John XXII, and Innocent III. There are also several poems falsely ascribed to St. Bernard (only two rather unsuccessful poems by him are extant), but although not actually his compositions, they reveal a feeling akin to that expressed in his prose works. The first, the real author of which was a thirteenth-century Cistercian abbot, Arnulf of Louvain, is a prayer verse beginning *Salve meum salutare* ("Hail, my Salvation"), which addresses in turn each member of the body of the crucified Jesus. According to the rubric, while St. Bernard was saying this prayer, the image of the Savior descended from the cross and embraced him. Also attributed to the Saint is the beautiful hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* ("Jesus, the very thought of Thee"), whose authorship is uncertain, but which antedates St. Bernard. Among the anonymous pieces are the famous *Stabat Mater* and "The Golden Psalm of the Glorious Virgin Mary," in which the first letter of each of the 150 verses is in burnished gold; taken together, they spell out the *Ave Maria*.

HOWEVER, the most interesting pieces in the book are the two poems by John of Hoveden (or Howden) and John Peckham, later Archbishop of Canterbury. Hoveden, who died in 1275 (the date of his birth is unknown) was chaplain to Queen Eleanor, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV of Provence, wife of Henry III and mother of Edward I. The contemporary *Lanercost Chronicle*, written in the north of England, describes him as a

"man of honest life, unostentatious, skilled in astrology, and full of hospitality and human kindness." He began the construction of the choir of the collegiate church of Howden in Yorkshire at his own cost, and was one of its first prebendaries. Edward I made him "king's clerk" and appointed him to the king's chapel at Bridgenorth. After his death, he was revered as a saint, and miracles are supposed to have occurred at his tomb. In addition to the *Philomena*, Hoveden wrote several other Latin poems, all celebrating Jesus and the Virgin, and also an astronomical treatise, the *Practica Chilindri*. At the Queen's request, he composed a free rendering of his *Philomena* in French verse. His poem had considerable influence on the mysticism of the fourteenth century, when an English paraphrase was made of it.

Seven fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Philomena* are known, but Seymour De Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* records only one manuscript in this country. This was written in England in the early fifteenth century, and is now in the Newberry Library. A printed edition, without indication of place, printer, or date, appeared toward the end of the fifteenth century, and was followed by others issued at Ghent in 1516 and at Luxembourg in 1603. A modern edition was published at Leipzig in 1930 by Clemens Blume, in Volume IV of *Hymnologische Beiträge*. The full title, translated, is "The Nightingale; or, Meditations on the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The manuscript of Hoveden's French version contains a note explaining that, just as the nightingale makes a melody out of many notes, so the book makes harmony out of many themes; moreover, the poem was composed "in a beautiful flowering orchard where the nightingale was singing." The bird itself does not appear in the poem except in a few passing references; for instance, Hoveden says that compared to the Virgin's song to her Child, the nightingale sounds hoarse.

The *Philomena* is composed of 1131 rhymed quatrains of ten-syllable lines. The Library's manuscript contains 354 of these, presented as two separate poems. The first, comprising 238 stanzas, is headed *De Passione* and begins with the words: "Tua

pedes, Jhesu, lavat devotio," referring to Jesus' washing the feet of the disciples. It is made up of selections from those parts of the poem which deal with the crucifixion. Starting with stanza 96 of the printed version, it continues to stanza 475 in the order of the poem, but with many omissions; then goes on similarly from 616 to 1029, after which stanzas 924 to 929 are inserted; and the poem concludes with 1129 and 1131, the latter being the final quatrain of the whole work. The second extract, left untitled in the manuscript, contains most of the stanzas which relate to the Virgin Mary, including the first fifty, followed by 1046 to 1082 and the last thirty-two, with no omissions in the parts given. The opening words are: "Ave verbum ens in principio," which may be freely translated as "Hail, Word which was in the beginning." (Compare John I,1: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.") Numerous minor variations from the printed text occur; in a significant number of cases, the manuscript agrees with the version printed at Luxembourg in 1603, suggesting a common ancestor. The person responsible for the condensation no doubt had the same object as the maker of modern digests: to reduce a long text to a practicable length for inclusion in his book.

Mr. F. J. E. Raby, who in 1939 edited the *Poems of John Hoveden* (exclusive of the *Philomena*), in his *History of Christian Latin Poetry* (2d ed., Oxford, 1953) calls the *Philomena* a "poem of compelling beauty" and Guido Maria Dreves, editor of the *Analecta Hymnica*, considers it "one of the pearls of medieval poetry." It is written in a style which has been described as epico-lyrical; although it relates the events of Christ's Passion, the narrative element is submerged in mystical interpretations and elegiac effusions. The protagonists are Love, who leads Jesus to sacrifice himself to redeem humanity, the Savior himself, Mary, and the poet, who pours forth his adoration and grief, and longs to share Christ's sufferings. Hoveden was a learned man as well as a poet, and some of his "conceits" cause Mr. Raby to compare him to the "metaphysical" poets of the seventeenth century. Thus, in his praises of Mary, one encounters references to astronomy, geography, the squaring of the circle, and to Cicero, Virgil, and Livy. Some of his meta-

phors are rather strained, as when he writes that if he were to sing all the praises of the Lord, he would have to drink the ocean and shut up the Nile in a nut-shell; or when he compares the cross to a nest, the Church to a turtle-dove, and humanity to the young birds. But one also finds the more traditional religious symbolism of the Middle Ages: the Virgin is an ivory throne, a tower, an altar, a fountain, an emerald. She has vanquished the unicorn; beside her the rose blushes, the lily's whiteness pales, and even the grass looks yellow. Judith, Esther, David, Noah, and Aaron all prefigured her.

The *Philomena* gives somewhat the effect of a musical composition, combining, in the words of the French manuscript, many themes in one harmony. Narrative and description have little place in it; the effectiveness of the poem derives from the skillful variations in mood and melody, obtained in spite of the comparatively small number of motives, and the use of a single meter. Hoveden handles the verse-form expertly; the caesura always falls at the end of a word, most frequently after the fourth syllable; the line regularly ends in a dactyl, and the rhyme is always two-syllabled. The chief reproaches one can bring against the author are a tendency toward pedantry, and an occasional abuse of alliteration, for example, in the address to Amor, where seven successive words begin with the letter "p":

Scribe praedam praedantem premere.
Praedam pressam praedantem prendere.

(This seems to mean roughly: "Write of the oppressor pressing on his prey, and the oppressed prey prevailing over the oppressor.") The excerpter responsible for the version in the Library's manuscript wisely omits most of such passages, as well as the long catalogues of Biblical and classical characters.

To give an idea of the sound of Hoveden's verse, two stanzas, one from the middle and one from the end, which strike the two chief notes of grief and praise, may be cited. In these lines, alliteration is used moderately. Stanza 463:

Cur, cum migrat sponsus, hic maneo?
Cur plus moror hoc vase luteo?
O, qui migras sub serto spineo,
Da quod migrem, cum plangens doleo!

("Why, when the bridegroom departs, do I tarry here? Why do I remain in this vessel of clay? O, Thou who departest, crowned with thorns, grant me to depart, when I mourn and lament.") Stanza 1131:

Melos tibi sit et laudatio,
 Salus, honor et iubilatio,
 Laetus Amor, lotus in lilio,
 Qui es Verbum, ens in principio.

("Song and praise be unto Thee, greeting, honor and jubilation, joyful Love, laved in the lily, Thou who art the Word which was in the beginning.")

THE other "nightingale" poem, Peckham's *Philomena*, is quite different in content, although similar in spirit. The manuscript gives St. Bonaventura as author, and the work has also been credited to John of Hoveden, but the real author appears to be John Peckham (ca. 1230-92). The future Archbishop of Canterbury was a Franciscan who studied in Paris, taught at Oxford, and became the head of the Franciscan order in England. Noted for his humility and piety, even as archbishop he wore only the poorest clothing. He composed many works on theology and science, as well as numerous poems. The *Philomena* is his masterpiece; Mr. Raby terms it "one of the loveliest of all the poems on the Passion."

The work consists of eighty-seven four-line stanzas, with thirteen syllables to a line. It starts out liltingly, like a troubadour song:

Philomena, praevia temporis amoeni,
 Quae recessum nuntias imbri atque caeni,
 Dum demulces animos tuo canto leni,
 Avis prudentissima, ad me, quaeso, veni.

("Philomena, harbinger of the pleasant season, thou who announcest the departure of rain and mud, and softenest the heart by thy gentle song, wisest of birds, I beg thee, come to me.")

The poet then calls on the bird to go to his friend, and salute him with an assurance of undying affection. The choice of a messenger is explained by the legend that the nightingale,

when it feels death draw near, perches on a tree at dawn and starts to sing. At the first hour, when the day has brightened, it raises its voice higher and sings without a pause; at the third, it sings so ardently that its throat almost bursts; at noon, it is exhausted and cries: "Oci, oci!"; finally, at the ninth hour, it dies. The nightingale, says the poet, figures the soul; dawn represents the creation of man; the first hour, the incarnation of Christ; the third, His life on earth; the sixth, the Crucifixion; and the ninth, His death. The soul, contemplating these mysteries, sings joyfully at first like the nightingale, but finally dies, smitten with sympathy for Christ's sufferings.

The whole poem is infused with deep feeling. The author dwells tenderly on the infant Jesus, and wishes he could have cared for Him and have kissed Him; surely the Babe would not have scorned a poor man, but might even have smiled at him. When the soul meditates on the Passion, it is pierced with love as by a javelin, and wishes to be crucified with Jesus.

Peckham's *Nightingale* is not only much shorter than Hoveden's but also simpler in structure and vocabulary, less intellectual but more melodic, and without the flaws which mar the latter's poem in places. The lyrical tone is maintained throughout, although at the same time there is a forward movement, lacking in Hoveden's work, and more "plot."

More than thirty manuscripts of Peckham's *Philomena* are known, but De Ricci does not list any in the United States or Canada. The printed text in the *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. L, 602-10, shows some minor variations, chiefly in word-order, from the Library's manuscript. Many imitations and translations were made of the poem, including two fifteenth-century English versions by John Lydgate (published in the *Early English Text Society, Extra series*, 1900). A few lines from the first of these may serve as conclusion:

By this nyghtingale, that thus freshly can
Bothe wake and singe, as telleth us scripture,
Is Christ hym-self ande every cristen-man
Soule understande, wech oweth of nature
And verray reson do diligence ande cure,
Oute of the sleep of synne to a-wake, & ryse,
Ande to remembre, ande fully advertise.

Petrarch's Proposal for a Public Library

By ERNEST H. WILKINS

PETRARCH was one of the most ardent book collectors of his time.¹ It was probably in 1333 that he wrote on the fly-leaf of a volume of his a list of his favorite books — “*Libri mei peculiare*,” the heading reads — containing about fifty titles. The total number of his books must have been much larger.²

As the years passed, he acquired more and more books — by purchase, by gift, by having copies made for him or by making copies himself. In a letter probably dating from 1340 he wrote:

I am possessed by one insatiable passion, which I cannot restrain — nor would I if I could . . . I cannot get enough books. It may well be that I already have more than I need; but it is with books as it is with other things: the more you have, the more you want. Books have indeed a special fascination. Gold, silver, gems, fine raiment, a marble palace, well-cultivated fields, paintings, a splendidly caparisoned horse — such things as these give one nothing more than a mute and superficial pleasure. Books delight us through and through, they converse with us, they give us good advice; they become living and lively companions to us . . .

So then do please arrange to have competent and trustworthy men go through Tuscany for me, examining the book-chests of the religious and of other studious men, looking for things that might either alleviate or intensify my thirst. And although you know in general what I want, I am enclosing a list of the things that I am especially eager to get. And to stimulate your helpfulness let me tell you that I am sending similar requests to friends of mine in Britain, France, and Spain . . .³

By 1362 Petrarch owned perhaps three hundred or more volumes. The great majority were works of Latin antiquity, but they included also manuscripts of Homer and Plato in Greek (which Petrarch, despite some study of the language, could not read), a few translations from the Greek, the Bible, a good many works of the Church Fathers, some medieval Latin books, and a few contemporary authors.⁴ They were distinguished by their contents as well as the excellence of the texts. Many of them were beautiful.

By this time the poet had become anxious as to what would happen to his library after his death. In the spring of 1362 Boccaccio (who had been badly frightened by a religious fanatic) wrote to Petrarch, offering to sell him all his books. In his reply, after doing his best to calm Boccaccio's fears, the poet said that if his friend persisted in his desire to sell his books he would gladly buy them; that he would add them to his own collection; and that he would bequeath the joint collection to some religious institution:

I should not want your books to be scattered here and there, or to fall into unworthy hands. So I have decided that even as you and I have been of one mind, so your books and mine should go as an unbroken collection, in our memory, to some "*pium ac devotum locum*."^s

But Boccaccio, his fears calmed, decided to keep his books; and Petrarch changed his mind about the disposition of his own library.

He was then living in Padua where, as a canon of the cathedral, he had the right to occupy a house in the cathedral close. His life in the city was not unhappy; but he felt that if he were to continue to live there he would not have the freedom and quiet he needed for his studies and writing. Venice was near by; he had been there more than once; he felt its charm; he had friends there, including Benintendi de' Ravagnani, who was now the chancellor of the Republic. There was one difficulty, however: he had no house in Venice, and he did not think he could afford to buy or rent one. Under these circumstances it occurred to him that perhaps the Venetian government would provide him with a house if he were to leave his books, under certain conditions, to the Republic. He discussed the idea with Benintendi, who welcomed it and evidently agreed to do his best to win acceptance for it.

On the 27th of August, having sent his proposal to Benintendi, Petrarch wrote him a letter thanking him for his interest and help, and expressing the belief that his proposal might be the beginning of great things: "If all goes well, I believe that, though I do not dare to say that it will bring glory to you, to your descendants, and to the Republic, it will open a road to glory: for many great and noble results have come from be-

ginnings no greater than this." He then went on to say that he wished he had thought of the matter while the great Doge Andrea Dandolo [with whom he had had very friendly relations] was still living; and that he knew Andrea, in the other world, would see with joy that the establishment of a public library [*bibliothecae publicae*] had been reserved for his fourth successor [Lorenzo Celso]. And he wondered why no one had conceived the idea before.⁶

On the 4th of September the Venetian Senate accepted the proposal, adopting the minute, still preserved in the city's archives, a facsimile of which is reproduced here. The first of the four paragraphs records the official action, and the others summarized the poet's proposal, incorporating much of his own wording. The laudatory passage in the first paragraph is doubtless due to Benintendi. The document is translated here:

Considering how greatly to the praise of God and of the Blessed Mark the Evangelist, as well as to the honor and fame of our city, the offer will be that is made by Master Francis Petrarch (whose fame today in the whole world is so great that, in the memory of man, there has been in Christendom no moral philosopher or poet who can be compared with him) — let his offer be accepted according to the form of the following proposal, made in his own hand; and be it now ordered that there be taken from the Funds such amounts as may be needed to rent a house and habitation for him for the rest of his life, with the approval of the Signory, the Councillors, and the Chiefs or a majority thereof; provided that the Procurators of the Church of St. Mark offer to take care of the expenses necessary for a place where his books may be put and kept. And this action is taken by six Councillors, three Chiefs, thirty-two of the Forty, and finally by two-thirds of the Great Council. And the tenor of his proposal is as follows:

F. desires to institute the Blessed Mark the Evangelist, if it be to the good pleasure of Christ and of [the Blessed Mark] himself, as the heir of an unknown number of books which he now owns or may own hereafter, on this condition: that the books shall not be sold nor in any way dispersed, but shall be kept forever in a place, safe from fires and from rains, which shall be devoted to this purpose, to the honor of the said Saint, in memory of himself [Petrarch], and for the solace, such as it may be, and the convenience of those ingenious and noble men of that city who may delight in such things.

Nor does he desire this because the books are very numerous or

very costly, but in the hope that hereafter from time to time that glorious city may add other books from its own funds, and that individually noble citizens who love the place of their birth, or perhaps even men who are not Venetian born, following this example, may by their Last Wills leave some of their books to the aforementioned Church, and thus it may well come to be a great and famous library, equal to those of antiquity. Nor is there any man of letters, or, I think, any unlettered man, who will not realize what glory will come thereby to that Signory. And if this, with the aid of God and of that great patron of your city, should come to pass, F. himself will rejoice and glory in God that he has been in some sense the beginning of so great a good. On this theme, if the plan proceeds, he may perhaps write something at greater length. But that he may be seen to offer something more than words in so great a matter, he desires to do this as he has promised, etc.

For himself, meanwhile, and for the said books he would like a house, not large but decent, in order that nothing that may befall him in the way of humanity may interfere with this proposal of his. He himself moreover will gladly reside there, if suitable arrangements can be made: but as to this he is not fully certain because of many difficulties, but he hopes so.⁷

The house rented for Petrarch stood on the Riva degli Schiavoni, on the site on which the Caserma del Sepolcro now stands. Petrarch occupied it until 1368, when he moved back to Padua, taking his books with him. As far as is known, he still intended that his books should go after his death to Venice; and it was probably through no fault of his that his intention was not carried out.⁸

Notes

1. Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1907), I, chap. 1.
2. B. L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome, 1955), 117-37.
3. Petrarch, *Epistolae familiares*, III, 18.
4. Nolhac, *op. cit.*, II, 188-242; and several articles by Giuseppe Billanovich.
5. Petrarch, *Epistolae seniles*, I, 5.
6. Petrarch, *Epistolae variae*, 43.
7. The Latin text is printed in Nolhac, I, 94. The reference in the archives is "Venezia, Archivio di Stato. Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni, Reg. 19 (Novella), (1350-1384, 4 Settembre 1362, C. 85r." That the last two paragraphs are a summary of Petrarch's proposal and not a copy of the proposal itself

(which, as indicated, was written "in his own hand") is shown by several features, as for instance the "etc" at the end of the first of the two paragraphs. The uses of "that" and "your" rather than "this" and "our," as applied to Venice, are due to the fact that Petrarch's proposal was written while he was not in Venice but in Padua.

8. Lino Lazzarini, *Paolo de Bernardo e i primordi dell'umanesimo in Venezia* (Geneva, 1930), 37-39; and Maria Luxoro, *La biblioteca di San Marco nella sua storia* (Florence, 1954), 8-II. The dispersal of Petrarch's books after his death is discussed by Nollhac, I, chap. 2.

Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams

A Controversy in the Classical Tradition

(Continued from the July 1958 issue)

By RICHARD M. GUMMERE

ENTHUSIASTS who called Samuel Adams "the Cato of New England" were less accurate in their historical perspective than was Jefferson, who hailed him as "the Palinurus of the American Revolution." Sam Adams was more of a tribune than a senator. But Jefferson's phrase is a significant one: for Palinurus, as Vergil readers will remember, fell overboard after piloting the Trojan ships to Italy and steering skillfully through all the dangers of the voyage. He was the protagonist in long-range planning for independence; but he was inadequate as an architect for the building of a new nation. Perhaps his biographer Hosmer was right in describing him as "the Antaeus of Democracy": for he returned after every setback to the Mother-Earth of the town-meeting for further inspiration, watching all the while "lest another Caesar should arise and usurp the authority of his master."

He began his political career with some cautious praise for the British Constitution, founded, as he declared, "on the Law of God and the Law of Nature," according to Cicero, the Stoics, Grotius, and his colleague James Otis. While he was first in the field with the idea of independence, he kept the opinion to himself for some time; and he may not have had his tongue in his cheek when he wrote: "We are far from desiring that the connection between Britain and America should be broken. *Esto Perpetua* ('May it endure forever') is our ardent wish." It was the abuses of the English system that started Adams off on his radical career as an early advocate of independence and the establishment of a republic; and it is likely that a proper blend of the three elements (ruler, upper house, and lower house), with complete observance of citizen rights in property, taxation, and franchise, plus equal standing for provincials and Englishmen, would have at least postponed any rebellion for

many years. In this connection he seems to have been satisfied with the administration of Thomas Pownall (1757-60). Such was the general opinion during the first half of the eighteenth century. James Logan of Pennsylvania regarded the ideal as a "mixed balanced government, an equipoise of three elements, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic, embodied in the British Constitution."²⁵

There was, however, an underlying dislike of the *imperium in imperio* as far back as Winthrop's day. The Greek colonial concept of self-government was preferred to the more rigid Roman provincial system. Even the Pennsylvania Tory Joseph Galloway, in a pamphlet on the eve of the final crisis, admitted that it was mismanagement which was losing the American colonies to Britain, just as her colonies were lost to Rome. England "should have settled her vacant territory with citizens and not colonists." And so should Rome have done. The story of progress towards independence is well enough known — the growing emphasis on the popular third of the Aristotelian triad, more vivid in Massachusetts than anywhere else.

The tide of Sam Adams's political philosophy ran stronger with his advancing years in the direction of pure democracy, and away even from the mixed government whose principles he felt that the mother country was ignoring. When the balance was disturbed by a monarchical or oligarchic emphasis, he adopted what was strictly a "perversion" of the democratic dogma, and applied the town-meeting method and frequently mob propaganda in order to by-pass King, Lords, and Commons. This "pale lean Cassius" as Hutchinson described him, was singled out for mention by the sympathetic French visitor Chastellux as having "begun by the Greeks and the Romans to get at the Whigs and Tories."²⁶

In contrast to the disapproval by Winthrop and Cotton of any Athenian procedures, Adams ransacked the Greco-Roman material for support of the democratic idea. He agreed with James Otis (*Rights of the British Colonies*) that "in the order of Nature, immediately under God, comes the power of a simple democracy." He made an observation which would have got him into trouble with the Puritans of the previous century: as "Vindex" he rallied to the defense of a certain agnostic, a Dr.

Young whom he regarded as a patriot, "proving by illustrations from Greece and Rome that pagans could be as great statesmen as Christians."²⁷ This was an unconscious echo of a principle laid down by Roger Williams, and one of the reasons for the latter's exile. Writing under assumed names in the *Boston Gazette* and elsewhere, he signed himself "Vindex," "Determinatus," "Sincerus," "Candidus," "Valerius Poplicola." To his friends he was "Cato the Old Roman"; to the Tory opposition he was a Gracchus or a rabble-rousing tribune. It was said of him: "I could wish he would add *Malignus* and *Invidus* to his list of signatures." Ideas which many regarded as very democratic run like a thread throughout his whole career: we find him lamenting in 1771 to Arthur Lee that there were plots "to render ineffectual the Democratical part of this Government";²⁸ and he reported to Franklin that "the capital complaint of all North America is a subjugation to as arbitrary a tribute as ever the Romans laid upon the Jews or their other colonies." His opposition to the American Constitution was later to be based on the same principles; and his rather pathetic efforts to counteract the Federalists after 1789 show that he was a brilliant propagandist rather than a constructive coordinator. But all along he stuck doggedly to the Aristotelian theory that the State is a "moral person," fortifying his statements by the type of virtue to be found in the leaders of the Roman Republic at its best, and by the lack of morale prevalent in the later Roman Empire.

Dotting his communications with well-known catch-words — *obsta principiis* ("meet the trouble at its start"), *arma cedant togae* ("statesmanship better than force"), *vis unita fortior* ("power, with unity, is more effective"), he presented to his Sons of Liberty a set of slogans which must have warmed the heart of Patrick Henry. The Stamp Act was like the sword that Nero wished for, "to have decollated the Roman People at a stroke."²⁹ "I think," he said, "that our countrymen discover the spirit of Rome or Sparta"; and he prayed on another occasion that his beloved Boston might live the strenuous life and become a "Christian Sparta." The person responsible for American bloodshed is a *hostis humani generis*. Major Hawley "has as much of the stern Virtue and Spirit of a Roman censor

as any Gentleman I ever conversed with." What remedy can the oppressed obtain, in a region where *inter arma silent leges*?³⁰ He protests against the invasion of the military, recalling the lament of Vergil's dispossessed shepherd:

Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?

"Fallow-lands trim, such as these, shall a godless soldier inherit?"³¹ To his cousin Joseph Allen, during the heated preliminaries of the Revolution, he gives some advice taken from Horace, "a man of sterling sense, tho a heathen":

*Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem —*

and throughout his correspondence one finds many such "asides" from the Latin authors whom he knew almost by heart.³² The old Senecan proverb, invoked by many Colonials, appears in his exhortation to provincial unity, because *concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia magnae dilabuntur*. The *furor brevis* of the Boston Massacre is one-sidedly explained by the loss of temper on the part of the British soldier Kilroy. What he regards as too much toleration on Gage's part of insults to Bostonians prompts the legal phrase: *Qui non prohibet nec puniit, fecit* — "he who does not check or punish the offence, has committed it himself." *Aut Caesar aut nullus*, he declares, "is inscribed on the hearts of some men who have neither Caesar's learning nor his courage." *Fraudum sedes aula*, ("a court is the abode of iniquity,") "was the saying of a philosopher who understood courts well." James Warren, at that time a heroic figure in Samuel's estimation, was called a Helvidius Priscus, a Roman of the old school. Even when, in 1763, the general atmosphere of well-being discouraged any denunciation of the home government, Adams would stage, at the town meetings, "a number of warm disputes . . . to entertain the lower sort, who are in an ecstasy to find the Old Roman patriots still surviving."³³

HOW far the Liberty Boys absorbed this propaganda in Sam's editorials and speeches is a question. His contemporary Jonathan Mayhew preached the same doctrine to his educated

parishioners, who doubtless appreciated his references to the Hesperides, Hercules, Tarquin, and Caesar the Dictator, with statements of his obligations to "Plato, Demosthenes, and Cicero among the ancients, and such as Sidney, Milton, Locke, and Hoadley among the moderns." Josiah Quincy denounced the Boston Port Bill, with a spate of Plutarchian illustrations.³⁴ But evidence indicates that the excellent common-school system of Boston produced pupils whose literacy enabled many of them to welcome these references and in certain cases to read up on the ancient material. Reliable statistics, based on court records, show that at the end of the seventeenth century in Suffolk County 89 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women were literate.³⁵ In raw intelligence, the New England sermon was an efficient training for the understanding and discussion of public issues. This was particularly true in the mid-eighteenth century, when the classical atmosphere had reached the height of its popularity, and when the Law of Nature, first interpreted for the Colonials by James Otis, was a universal watchword.³⁶

Sam Adams, aged twenty-two, was saying nothing especially new when he offered his Latin *quaestio* for the Master's degree at Harvard in 1743. As early as 1080 A. D. Manegold von Lautenbach had argued during the controversies between Henry the Fourth and the Church that a king could be not only legally deposed but ejected outright if he sinned against the Divine Law — *si quando pactum quo eligitur infringit*. He mentioned the Scipionic idea of royalty as the proper standard.³⁷ John of Salisbury agreed that a real "tyrant" should "be prosecuted." In Reformation days the question was even asked whether "it be lawful to depose an evil governor and kill a tyrant." Jean Bodin in the sixteenth century held that "when the sovereign commands contravene the Law of Nature or of God, his inferior is not bound to obey." Althusius, author of a popular textbook in the first American colleges, insisted on the right to rebel by force if the reigning prince should abuse his powers;³⁸ and in 1770 James Witherspoon, son of the Princeton President, later a major in the Continental army and killed at the battle of Germantown, argued the same point in Latin at his college commencement. Most of these arguments were

de jure rather than *de facto*; but there are enough instances in history to prove that it was not all theory. If the rumor brought to Hutchinson's ears was true, that Sam had declared at a recent Commencement "every man has a good right to put an end to the life of a tyrant,"³⁹ our sympathies belong with a harassed governor rather than with the rabble-rousing quoter of Plutarch and the ancient heroes such as Harmodius and Aristogeiton. If one looks for humor in Sam Adams (or in Hutchinson either), one will find little. A slight touch of it, reminiscent of classroom terminology, occurs in his answer to the report that the Boston patriot looked on in disguise while the Liberty Boys ran riot before the Boston Massacre; "Some of the late letter-writers . . . have marked the red cloak and white wig, as the garb of a Boston *Hypocrite*; but I have never yet heard it hinted, that such a dress was the peculiarity of an *actor* in *Tragedies*."⁴⁰

Some of the ancient material which Sam Adams used can be defined as window-dressing or as slogans for general publicity. But he goes much deeper than this, and aims at an analytical presentation of colonial problems to the thinking citizen. The meaning and application of Natural Law was a significant factor. Cicero's famous definition — *vera lex recta ratio naturae congruens* ("the same everywhere, superior to all human laws") — was known to all educated Colonials: it carried such weight that in Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Law of England* it is buried almost word for word in the English text.⁴¹ In partnership with *compact* it was regarded as a satisfactory instrument of government. Alone, while it furnished the pioneering Otis with impressive ammunition, along with appeals to the Bay Charter, and was at first the most important step toward Colonial rights, it needed further support when taxation, representation, and Parliamentary control became the prime issues. Sam Adams declared that the colonies were "in a state of nature." This was anathema to Hutchinson, who thought it mere chaos. Even James Madison shied away from it in a letter of 1793 to Jefferson: to him it meant the breaking of treaties and the annihilation of property.⁴² But Adams found it an invaluable vehicle for freedom. He and Richard Henry Lee circulated the phrase at the First Continental Congress, not as a

loan from Rousseau or a tribute to the Noble Savage, but as a practical piece of political activity. It would, he claimed, relieve North America from "a subjugation to as arbitrary a tribute as ever the Romans laid upon the Jews or their other colonies."

Already in 1772 a report known as *The Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men* held that the colonies had the right "to remain in a State of Nature," and to work out their own procedures on the Greek plan of independence, with an appeal to the combined sentiments of Cicero and John Locke. Even the Roman plan had some redeeming features: for, if Parliament could tax without our consent, "in this respect we are treated with less decency and regard than the Romans showed even to the Provinces which they had conquered. *They* only determined upon the sum which each should furnish, and left every Province to raise it in the manner most easy and convenient to themselves."⁴³

G OVERNORS BERNARD and HUTCHINSON, and especially the latter, were continually under fire. For Bernard, Adams pulled out of his magazine a devastating nickname — "Verres, the tyrant-governor of Sicily."⁴⁴ Even the grammar-school boys who had read Cicero's oration and understood the meaning of "some plantation governors, like Verres, either ancient or modern," saw the point of the satire. Benjamin Church, later a renegade, had written in 1769 a long poem — "An Address to a Provincial Bashaw":

Hie thee, poor tyrant, to that happy goal
Where VERRES, ANDROS, from Resentment stole;
Go share eternal infamy with those.

Epithets travelled back and forth. "Faneuil Hall, that celebrated school for Catalines and Sedition" was balanced by Joseph Warren's letter to Joseph Reed of May 15, 1775: "Our arch-traitor Hutchinson has labored hard in this service. He seems to have fully adopted old Juno's maxim: *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*."⁴⁵ To be compared with a monster who humiliated Sicilian citizens, plundered treasures, and dis-

regarded all rights, harried Bernard so sorely that it was a main factor in his retreat to England. Before his departure, he and Hutchinson drafted an affidavit that Adams had threatened treasonable resistance when he wrote: "The times were never better in Rome than when they had no kings and were a free state . . . We shall have it in our power to give laws to England."⁴⁶ Dangerous speech was again registered against the Town Meeting moderator when he praised "the independent spirit of Brutus who to his immortal honor expelled the proud tyrant of Rome." As *Candidus* in the *Boston Gazette* of September 23, 1771, he declared that "The tyrants of Rome were the *natives* of Rome" — a palpable hit, though unjust. This kind of talk led to exaggerated statements about the great propagandist. But one could hardly refrain from protest when he announced that the action of Caligula's murderer involved a principle which "may prove as destructive to men who take the lead in a Commonwealth as to absolute monarchs."

Sam Adams went merrily on with his anti-Hutchinson propaganda. Plutarch furnished him with plentiful illustration, such as: "What availed the good qualities of Galba? He who should not have employed bad men, or at least should have restrained or punished them, incurred the same censure as if he himself had done it! It is the common craft of corrupt ministers to represent their Cause as the Cause of their Prince."⁴⁷ The quartering of troops in Boston reminds him of "those who suffered under the administration of the most oppressive of the Roman provinces." There was a tyrant Pisistratus cleverly occupied in subtle tyranny, deluding the people by the false glare of virtues. "How different was Pisistratus from that Roman hero and patriot Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus who, tho' vested with the authority of dictator, was so moderate in his desires of a continuance of power, that . . . he resigned the dangerous office, which he might have held till the expiration of six months."⁴⁸ "The leading men," according to the abusive propagandist, "whose authority in domestic affairs might well be compared to that of Roman senators, will find their determination to be of no more consequence than that of constables."

At the risk of his neck, Samuel Adams stuck resolutely and resourcefully and with what Mrs. Mercy Warren called "Ro-

man-like firmness" to his main theme — that nothing but a free nation should take the place of the provinces where the operation of the British Constitution had been "perverted" from its proper functioning. It was a republic which he desired, and by 1776 the victory was won. "Monarchy is exploded." "The aristocratic spirit gives place to democracy." "Our senate may equal that of Athens, which was said to be the most sacred and venerable assembly in all Greece."⁴⁹

A Plutarchian comparison of these two colonial champions is unnecessary: so vivid is the contrast. The persistent and sometimes devious master of propaganda stands in opposition to the equally obstinate but strictly consistent administrator. Both are vulnerable, the one a practical politician, the other an unswerving upholder of a losing cause, the one attacking, the other defending. Both unite in their love of the classics, and illustrate the variations in the types of government described by Aristotle.

Notes

25. *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, ed. H. A. Cushing (New York, 1904-08), III, 66. See F. B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston, 1957), 55; Joseph Galloway, *Plain Truth* (London, 1780), 129.

26. *Voyages dans L'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1788), I, 237. See I, 229, where Adams tells Chastellux that the new Massachusetts Constitution is the best since that of Lycurgus.

27. J. C. Miller, *Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda* (Boston, 1936), 236, and Cushing, II, 378.

28. Letter to A. Lee, Cushing, II, 191.

29. Cushing, I, 109; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 30 (misquoted, evidently from memory).

30. Cushing, III, 162; Cicero, *Pro Milone*, IV, 10.

31. Cushing, III, 114; *Eclogues*, I, 71, translation by Sir G. O. Morgan (Oxford, 1897).

32. Cushing, II, 268; Horace, *Odes*, II, 3, 1-2. Two of the following sources are Seneca, *Epist.*, 94, 46 and Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 981.

33. Miller, *op. cit.*, 39.

34. *The Snare Broken* (Boston, 1766), 39-41. Sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act. Quincy, *Observations on the . . . Boston Port Bill* (Boston, 1774).

35. S. E. Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (N. Y. Univ. Press, 1956), 82-85; Miller, 19. For contemporary evidence on Colonial literacy, see B. Franklin, *Writings*, ed. A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), V, 209, and John Adams, *Works*, III, 455-56.

36. Well discussed by C. F. Mullett, *Some Political Writings of James Otis* (Univ. of Missouri, 1929) and *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1933).

37. George Koch, *Manegold von Lautenbach und die Lehre der Volkssouveränität unter Heinrich IV* (Berlin, 1902), 73, 63, 64, 90. John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, Book III, ch. 15, sec. 232. For the same idea, J. E. Ernst, *The Political Thought of Roger Williams* (Seattle, 1929), 40.

38. Johannes Althusius, *Politica Methodice Digesta*, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (Harvard Univ. Press, 1932), 380-92.

39. Samuel Adams, *Promoter of the American Revolution*, by R. V. Harlow (New York, 1923), 123. Sparks Mss. (Harvard College Library) X, vol. III, 12-13.

40. Cushing, II, 99. The point of the pun is that the *hypocrites* was the actor in Greek drama who carried on the dialogue between the choruses.

41. Introduction to *The Commentaries* (1765-1769); the *locus classicus* is Cicero, *De Republica*, III, 33, from Lactantius, *Inst. Divin.* VI, 8, 6-9.

42. James Madison, *Writings*, ed. G. Hunt (New York, 1906), VI, 128 (letter of May 8, 1793).

43. Cushing, II, 360, from S. Adams, *Rights of the Colonists*.

44. Cushing, II, 41; Philip G. Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1941), 146.

45. R. Frothingham, *The Life and Times of Joseph Warren* (Boston, 1865),

486. Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII, 312.

46. January 1768; Miller, 138; Hosmer (Adams), 118; see also Cushing, II, 251-52.

47. Cushing, II, 35; Plutarch, *Galba*, 29 (loosely, evidently from memory).

48. Cushing, IV, 213-14 and II, 191.

49. *Ibid*, III, 245-46 (anno 1775).

Prints and Drawings of Jacques Villon

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE present exhibition in the Print Department is in all probability the first comprehensive showing of Jacques Villon's prints and drawings in America. This collection, numbering one hundred and nineteen items, was acquired through the generosity of the late Mr. Albert H. Wiggin in 1951, and at a time when the artist's reputation as a printmaker had not risen to the lofty position it now holds in French graphic arts. Paris had not given due recognition to Villon's graphic work for some time after other countries accepted it as a valuable accomplishment. It was only after more than a half century of sustained activity and experimenting that his prints established him as one of the most versatile and technically skilled etchers of his time.

Jacques Villon was born in 1875 in Damville (Eure), France, and was christened Gaston Duchamp. His classical studies were made at the Lycée Corneille at Rouen. After some preliminary apprenticeship with his grandfather, Emile Nicolle, who was an engraver, he spent two years in Paris studying at the Faculté du Droit; but in 1895 he left the law and enrolled in the studio of F. A. P. Cormon, changing his name from Duchamp to Villon. At Cormon's he found souvenirs of Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Lautrec, among other artists who had worked there. After his military service in 1897, he took a studio in the rue Caulaincourt, where he had Renoir, Steinlen, and Francis Jourdain as neighbors. By 1911 he had joined the cubist trend. Villon moved to Puteaux-sur-Seine, where he and his brother Raymond Duchamp-Villon, the architect and sculptor, organized such exhibitions as the Salon d'Automne of 1912 and the Salon de la Section d'Or. In the year 1913 another brother, Marcel Duchamp, who startled the world of art with his "Nu Descendant un Escalier," joined them in exhibiting at the first Armory Show in New York.

The sincerity and conviction which attended the background of Villon's earlier work are clearly demonstrated in the Library's

exhibition, in which his technique of the 1890's can be compared to his present impressionistic and cubistic style. It is evident that he explored the fundamentals of the copper-plate mediums thoroughly. The method he now employs is not difficult to understand: on close study it becomes fascinating and, seeing the finished print, one wonders how it finally evolves into a satisfactory whole produced by a network of lines combining to create the desired drawing and color and value relationships.

Villon goes beyond the classic analysis of contours and planes with unexpected lines of separation that form new relationships in transitional areas between the light and shadow, with a secrecy that comes into being, not from his technique alone, but from pure simplification and his refined poetic genius. Then, too, in this splendid line in his later work the result is balanced by a well-ordered mind, so forceful that the compositions seem to grow before our eyes because of their structural and directional lines. The subject matter becomes our own experience, and the drawing propagates itself as an unhampered esthetic event.

It is interesting to note that Villon draws by suggestion rather than detail, which suits his inspiration and talent best. He literally paints with his etching and dry-point needle, giving the effect of scintillating light, moving half-tones, and transparent shadows. These qualities are particularly demonstrated in such well-known subjects as "Tête de Fillette," where the mesh of lines follows the forms and is used to express structural patterns of light and shade. This is true also of "Jeune Femme," "Tête d'Homme," "Philosophe," and "Nu à Genoux." Then in such plates as "Yvonne D. de Profile" one finds the ultimate in angular planes, which form pleasing areas that pick up the light to break the surface into many interesting constructive shapes producing textures, draftsmanship, and third dimension. The figure composition of "Le Rire" is loosely drawn, whereas "Madeleine" is done in an extremely studied manner; and in the plates of "Madame Paul Petit," "Miss Bea," and "La Petite Mendiante" the technique almost verges on formal engraving.

Although many people consider Villon as a modernist, he seems to be beyond that point. He should be referred to as a



*"Madame Steegmuller," an Etching by Villon
(Reduced)*

strong individualist with no group connection, as his work little resembles any of the well-known schools of thought. It is enlightening to read his own mind on this subject: "I was a cubist-impressionist, and I believe I still am. Maybe less a cubist, less an impressionist, and more of some undefined thing that I am forever seeking." *

Everything that Villon has gained through his years of experience, knowledge, and creative talent is summed up in his masterpiece, "Baudelaire avec Socle," after the sculptured bust by his brother Duchamp-Villon. This print is among a group which includes "Madame Steegmuller," "Petite Mulâtresse," "Renée de Face," "L'Usine," "Notre Dame de Vie," and "Chèvreuse," and the still life, "Nature Morte au Perroquet." These are personal documents displaying the full, unprecedented vigor and love of his work. Caution is thrown aside; the work focuses on atmosphere, momentary movement, and the essence of what inspired the artist at a given moment.

Of special interest in this exhibition are the drawings. Notable among them is the pen and ink drawing for "Le Savant." There is a freedom in it which is more lively and personal than in some of the etchings. In the portrait of J. P. Dubray there is a solidity, yet the sensitiveness of the face is done in Villon's characteristic style of interlacing lines; the print, although interesting in composition and technique, does not seem to reveal the personality of the subject. The pen and ink drawing for one of the figures in "L'Appel de la Vie (les filles)" exhibits a looseness not quite realized in the print which contains a great many figures depicted in Villon's original technique of diagonal lines.

Villon is a restless master of the brush and needle, engrossed in a brilliant series of experiments which reveal his innate ability to interpret his subject.

* Paul Eluard and René-Jean, *Jacques Villon ou l'art glorieux* Paris [1943].

Notes on Rare Books

An Exhibition of the Library's Treasures

FOR the summer the Library placed on view in the Treasure Room, for the pleasure of visitors and residents alike, an exhibit of its most precious — and popular — manuscripts and printed books. The more than one hundred volumes shown span ten centuries and a dozen countries.

The cases filled with the bright colors and glistening gold of medieval manuscripts were especially attractive. Here, for instance, was displayed the oldest book in the Library, a Latin lectionary dating from about 925 A.D., written in fine Carolingian characters. The volumes ranged from the well-thumbed pocket-sized Breviary of a contemporary follower of St. Francis to the great Antiphonary used by a whole choir of monks as they chanted the office. The Books of Hours, representative of many periods and national schools, included one which, acquired by Joseph Whitney of Boston in 1856, seems to have been the first medieval manuscript brought to this country. The most impressive was the "Grandes Heures" made for a Breton duchess at the end of the fourteenth century, with its beautiful miniatures (including her portrait) and intricate borders surrounding every page; yet the naturalistic flowers of a Flemish Horae are delightful, too, and the naive Madonna and Child of a Dutch volume has its own charm.

One case contained two of the four magnificent volumes of a thirteenth-century Norman Bible with eighty-five miniatures. Equally stunning was the early Flemish Psalter with full-page miniatures painted on a background of highly burnished gold. The English manuscripts, which are especially rare, included two Sarum Books of Hours and a fourteenth-century large Missal of the diocese of York, used for long for the records of the Neville and Gascoigne families. Of a quite different nature were the watercolor drawings of an Evangelary and a life of St. Augustine. These "popular" manuscripts, written in Germany in the fifteenth century on paper rather than the more expensive vellum, were profusely illustrated for the benefit of those who could not read.

Not all medieval manuscripts were of a religious nature; secular works on display ranged from Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, a continuation of Chaucer's tales, with its characteristic borders of feathery

branches and formalized acanthus leaves, through Christine de Pisan's *Livre des Trois Vertues*, which has a beautiful double miniature of the Virtues and their school, to Petrarch's sonnets, with the charming scene of Apollo pursuing Daphne. One may mention, too, the Persian natural history, with its quaint paintings of birds, animals, and plants.

Another large section of the exhibition contained choice items from the Prince Collection of Colonial Americana, one of the finest in existence. First came the 1493 Rome edition of Columbus's letter announcing his great discovery; next to it was the *Cosmographie Introductio*, 1507, in which Martin Waldseemüller, overlooking Columbus's legitimate claims, made the suggestion that the new continents be named "America" after Americus Vespuccius. Printing was introduced to this hemisphere in 1540, when Juan Pablos set up his press in Mexico City. From it comes the 1547 edition of the *Regla Christiana Breve*, a manual of instructions for the Christian missionaries. One hundred years later, the earliest press in British America — at Cambridge — produced the famous *Bay Psalm Book*. This, the most valuable printed book in English ever sold at a public auction, has recently been made available to both scholars and the general public by means of a facsimile edition published by the University of Chicago Press and produced from the two copies in the Library. Here one found also the *Indian Bible*, translated into the Algonquin language by John Eliot, pastor of Roxbury, and printed at Cambridge in 1661-63. In 1715 William Bradford, the first printer of New York, published selections from the Book of Common Prayer in Mohawk; the Library owns one of the few existing copies.

The important manuscripts in the Prince Collection were represented by three volumes of autograph letters by magistrates and clergymen of the Bay and Plymouth colonies. Here one may find letters by John Cotton, Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather, Samuel Willard, Thomas Shepherd, and all the other notables discussing theological problems as well as personal matters. A unique broadside is Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for establishing Religious Freedom," printed at Williamsburg in 1779.

Only a few samples could be shown from the Library's other collections. In the past twenty years the modest group of fifteenth-century printed books has grown to some five hundred volumes, more than half richly illustrated with woodcuts. Those selected for the exhibit included a superb vellum copy of the *Catholicon*, printed—according to its colophon, "not by means of reed, stylus or pen, but

with the wondrous agreement, proportion, and harmony of punches and types" — at Mainz in 1460, most probably by Gutenberg himself; the *Golden Legend*, printed in 1483 by William Caxton at Westminster, England; Berlinghieri's versified Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* (Florence, 1480?), opened at the map of Palestine; John Mandeville's amusing *Travels* in the Augsburg edition of 1481; the delightful *Dialogus Creaturarum* (Gouda, 1480); an almost pristine copy of the *Poliphilus* (Venice, 1499) printed by Aldus Manutius and perhaps bound in his workshop; and one volume of the *Mer des Histoires* (Paris, 1488-89), one of the greatest illustrated French books.

The earliest English Bible in the Library is a fragment (the Books of Tobias and Judith) from Miles Coverdale's translation (Zurich, 1535). This was followed by the "Diglot Bible" of 1538; the first issue of the Great Bible or Cranmer's Bible of 1539; the Geneva Bible of 1557-60; the Douay-Rheims Bible of 1582-1609; and the King James or Authorized Version of 1611.

From the Benton Collection of the Book of Common Prayer, one of the richest of its kind, came the first edition of 1549; the 1550 edition with the music of John Merbecke; one of the two known copies of the first American edition of 1710; and the abridgement of 1773 attributed to Benjamin Franklin. The cases devoted to American and English literature included the first Folio of Shakespeare, together with the first editions of *Midsummer Nights Dream*, 1600, and *King Lear*, 1608, which contains some three hundred lines absent from the First Folio; first editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; Shelley's *Queen Mab*, a presentation copy of Keats' *Endymion*; the 1798 *Lyrical Ballads* of Coleridge and Wordsworth; Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*; and autograph letters of Edgar Allan Poe.

The modern fine presses of England, America, and France found representation in such volumes as the Kelmscott Press's *Chaucer*, with woodcuts by Bourne-Jones and initials and borders by William Morris; the first volume of the Doves Press Bible; the Oxford Bible of 1935, designed by Bruce Rogers; Bonnard's *Daphnis and Chloe* with 151 lithographs of infinite charm, one of the most beautiful books of the century, bound in blue morocco with interesting mosaics by Antoine Legrain; the *Passion* illustrated by Georges Rouault; Maillol's *Eclogues*; Matisse's *Pasiphaé*, and Chagall's etchings of more than a hundred scenes from the Old Testament. The Library is justly proud of its collection of modern fine books.

The exhibition will remain on view till the end of October.

A Spanish Canonist on Heresy

GUNDISSALVUS DE VILLADIEGO'S *Tractatus contra Hereticam Pravitatem, Et etiam Tractatus de Irregularitate* ("Treatise Against Heretical Wickedness; and also Treatise on Irregularity"), published at Salamanca in 1519 by Laurentius Hondedeis, is a characteristic example of early Spanish printing. Three-quarters of the title-page is taken up by a large woodcut measuring five and a half by three and a half inches, with a few lines of printing underneath and a decorative woodcut border surrounding the whole. The title is printed in a large rounded Gothic type; the text is in a smaller Gothic arranged in two columns, and there are woodcut initials at the beginning of the various sections. The colophon gives the date and publisher. Following is an index, made by Sebastian Lopez, bachelor in civil and canon law, as a second colophon states.

The woodcut on the title-page is divided into two sections. The upper part shows St. Vincentius with his two sisters, St. Sabina and St. Christeta. The women have long flowing hair, and each carries a palm leaf. Vincentius holds a leafy branch, with a scroll reading: "Innotesce diabole" ("Note the false accusation"). These three somewhat apocryphal saints are said to have been born in Portugal and to have suffered martyrdom at Avila about 304, in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian. The lower cut depicts a man kneeling in prayer, with a snake twined around his neck. According to the legend, the bodies of Vincentius and his sisters were guarded by a serpent, which menaced a Jew who had come to look at them until he promised to give them a Christian burial. On either side of this cut there are three small heads of saints.

Gundissalvus (Gonzalo) de Villadiego, a Spanish authority on canon law, was a judge at the Papal court in the late fifteenth century. His work on heresy was published about 1485 in Rome; about ten years later, and again in 1496, that tract and the one on irregularity were printed together at Salamanca by Leonhard Hutz and Lupus Sanz. Villadiego was also the author of a "Treatise on the Excellence and Dignity of Cardinals," published in Rome about 1482.

The *Tractatus contra Hereticam Pravitatem* is dedicated to the Queen of Spain, that is, Isabella of Castille. The preface urges her to combat heresy "virilely"; and the treatise itself shows the proper legal procedures to be followed. The body of the work is divided into twenty-four questions, such as: What is a heretic? How do

heretics compare with other infidels? Should heretics be tolerated? Who should judge them? and so on. Under each question the author quotes canon law and various other authorities — the Bible, the Church Fathers, and later ecclesiastical and juristic writers.

The *Tractatus de Irregularitate* is written in a similar style. Gundissalvus explains that an irregularity is an impediment which bars a man from taking holy orders, or a priest from performing Mass. He divides irregularities into two kinds: those brought about by some fault of the person, including excommunication, suspension or interdict, or the commission of crimes, such as simony, murder, adultery, or perjury; and those caused by an inherent defect, for instance, illegitimacy, physical deformity, leprosy, epilepsy, demonic possession, or simply being under age.

Each of these cases is then discussed separately. To give an example, under murder the hypothetical cases include the invasion of a church by armed men during a service: if the priest kills one of the attackers in self-defense, may he afterward return to saying Mass? (Arguments are given on both sides, but the author concludes that it is better for a priest to suffer death patiently rather than kill his aggressor.) Again, if a soldier receives a letter ordering him to murder someone, and shows it to his chaplain, will the latter be in a state of "irregularity" if the murder is carried out? (He will.) Or suppose that a pet lion or bear kills someone, will the owner be considered "irregular?" (Not unless he knew the animal was vicious, and did not keep it tied up.)

This section seems to have particularly interested a former owner of the book, for he made notes in the margins, writing in one place: "Nota omnia."

EDITH A. WRIGHT

Meditations on the Life of Christ

A COPY of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, printed, according to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, by Johann Zainer in Ulm about 1487, is an interesting addition to the Library's great Franciscan Collection. The title-page contains a large woodcut representing a bishop teaching a class of men and women. Marginal notes, apparently copied from the text, are scattered throughout the volume.

The book was first published by Günther Zainer in Augsburg in 1468. Numerous editions followed in Ulm and Strassburg, as well

as in Paris, Rouen, Barcelona, Venice, and other cities. The Library also owns an English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530 with a number of woodcuts.

St. Bonaventura is named as the author (or at least the compiler) of these meditations. And so he was believed to be until the beginning of the present century. However, modern scholars consider this attribution doubtful and call the author Pseudo-Bonaventura. The book is absent from the list of authentic works by St. Bonaventura included in the Quaracchi ten-volume edition *Opera omnia*. But, whether these meditations were written in the thirteenth, fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century, they were associated in the minds of devout folk with the Seraphic Doctor.

The prologue strikes the key-note: "If you read about the blessed Francis and the blessed virgin Clara, you can find how in many tribulations, penuries and infirmities they were not only patient, but even hilarious." The first two chapters have their scenes in heaven. A narrator relates the contention between Mercy and Truth before the Almighty. Truth insists that the children of Adam should die, and Mercy naturally pleads for forgiveness. The Lord, in order to placate both, decides that the death of sinners be terrible, but that of the saints be glorious. The theme of holy poverty runs through the story of the life of the Virgin. In the account of the Epiphany, one is told that Mary, understanding the will of her Son, gave away her gold to the poor. On the journey of Jesus to the Jordan, where John was baptizing, the narrator meditates: "Alone walks the Lord of the world . . . Where are the barons and knights, generals and soldiers, horses and camels of the escorting multitudes?" In the chapter on Jesus's fasting and temptation, there is a quaint speculation on what food the angels served him after the devil had departed. One might have brought bread; another, wine; still another little fishes, and the rest sang songs of Zion.

An extraordinary elaboration may be found in the story of the wedding at Cana. One learns that the wedding took place at the house of the Virgin's younger sister, Mary Salome, and that it celebrated the marriage of her son John. When the banquet, at which the water was turned to wine, was over, Jesus was supposed to have called John and said to him: "Leave this wife of yours and follow me"!

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The Boston Public Library Quarterly

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By MARGY P. SHARPE

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